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INVESTIGATION OF SO-CALLED "BLACKLISTING"
IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY—REPORT OF THE
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.—PART 1

HEARINGS
BEFORE THE
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES
HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
EIGHTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
SECOND SESSION

JULY 10 AND 11, 1956

Printed for the use of the Committee on Un-American Activities

(INDEX IN PART 3 OF THIS SERIES)



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CONTENTS

PART 1

July 10, 1956: Testimony of—	Page
John Cogley	5175
Afternoon session:	
John Cogley (resumed)	5208
July 11, 1956: Testimony of—	
Arnold Forster	5227
Frederick E. Woltman	5240
Afternoon session:	
James F. O'Neil	5256
George E. Sokolsky (statement)	5287

PART 2

July 12, 1956: Testimony of—	
Vincent W. Hartnett	5291
Afternoon session: Testimony of—	
Roy M. Brewer	5312
Paul R. Milton	5327
July 13, 1956: Testimony of—	
Paul R. Milton (resumed)	5329
Godfrey P. Schmidt	5353
Afternoon session:	
Victor Riesel (statement)	5367
Francis J. McNamara	5368

PART 3

July 17, 1956:	
Afternoon session: Testimony of—	
Gale Sondergaard (Mrs. Herbert Biberman)	5390
July 18, 1956: Testimony of—	
Jack Gilford	5401

PUBLIC LAW 601, 79TH CONGRESS

The legislation under which the House Committee on Un-American Activities operates is Public Law 601, 79th Congress (1946), chapter 753, 2d session, which provides:

*Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, * * **

PART 2—RULES OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

RULE X

SEC. 121. STANDING COMMITTEES

* * * * *

17. Committee on Un-American activities, to consist of nine members.

RULE XI

POWERS AND DUTIES OF COMMITTEES

* * * * *

(q) (1) Committee on Un-American Activities.

(A) Un-American Activities.

(2) The Committee on Un-American Activities, as a whole or by subcommittee, is authorized to make from time to time, investigations of (i) the extent, character, and objects of un-American propaganda activities in the United States, (ii) the diffusion within the United States of subversive and un-American propaganda that is instigated from foreign countries or of a domestic origin and attacks the principle of the form of government as guaranteed by our Constitution, and (iii) all other questions in relation thereto that would aid Congress in any necessary remedial legislation.

The Committee on Un-American Activities shall report to the House (or to the Clerk of the House if the House is not in session) the results of any such investigation, together with such recommendations as it deems advisable.

For the purpose of any such investigation, the Committee on Un-American Activities, or any subcommittee thereof, is authorized to sit and act at such times and places within the United States, whether or not the House is sitting, has recessed, or has adjourned, to hold such hearings, to require the attendance of such witnesses and the production of such books, papers, and documents, and to take such testimony, as it deems necessary. Subpenas may be issued under the signature of the chairman of the committee or any subcommittee, or by any member designated by any such chairman, and may be served by any person designated by any such chairman or member.

RULES ADOPTED BY THE 84TH CONGRESS

House Resolution 5, January 5, 1955

* * * * *

RULE X

STANDING COMMITTEES

1. There shall be elected by the House, at the commencement of each Congress :

* * * * *

(q) Committee on Un-American Activities, to consist of nine members.

* * * * *

RULE XI

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* * * * *

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INVESTIGATION OF SO-CALLED "BLACKLISTING" IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY—REPORT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.—PART 1

TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1956

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities convened, pursuant to call, at 10:15 a. m. in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter of Pennsylvania, Morgan M. Moulder of Missouri, Clyde Doyle of California, James B. Frazier, Jr., of Tennessee, Edwin E. Willis of Louisiana, Harold H. Velde of Illinois, Donald L. Jackson of California, Gordon H. Scherer of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; and K. Baar-slag.

(Present at convening of hearing: Chairman Walter, Representatives Moulder, Doyle, Jackson, and Scherer.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

The Committee on Un-American Activities this morning begins an inquiry into the Fund for the Republic's recently published report on alleged blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Call your first witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. John Cogley, please.

Kindly remain standing while the chairman administers the oath to you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. COGLEY. I do.

The CHAIRMAN. Sit down.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN COGLEY

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. COGLEY. My name is John Cogley. I live at 21 Glover Place, Baldwin, N. Y. I am on the executive staff of the Fund for the Republic at present.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity are you engaged on the executive staff of the Fund for the Republic, Inc.?

Mr. COGLEY. My main duties, although it has not been formalized, seem to be that of a personal assistant to the president of the fund.

Mr. ARENS. Who is he, please, sir?

Mr. COGLEY. Mr. Robert Hutchins.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today, Mr. Cogley, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been associated with the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. COGLEY. In my present capacity?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. Since January 2, I believe, 1956.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Cogley, kindly give the committee a brief sketch of your own personal background.

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Counsel, wouldn't it be well if the record shows that the witness appears without legal counsel? I think that is the fact. If it is, let's have the record show it.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel today?

Mr. COGLEY. I am not represented by counsel.

Mr. ARENS. You were advised, however, in an informal telephone conversation that you have every right to counsel?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You were also advised, were you not, that it was the desire and liking of myself as director of this committee that you do appear today with counsel?

Mr. COGLEY. I consulted counsel, sir, and counsel was under the impression, as I was, that this was an executive session and I do not know if this influenced his decision, but he did not think it was necessary for him to be present here today since he was under the impression that it was merely to answer some questions you had to ask.

Mr. ARENS. Kindly give us, Mr. Cogley, your own personal background. Where were you educated?

Mr. COGLEY. I attended parochial schools in Chicago. I attended Loyola University in Chicago. I did postgraduate work at the Catholic University of Fribourg in Switzerland.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, please, sir, when you completed your formal education?

Mr. COGLEY. I returned to school after the war and during the school year 1948-49 I attended the University of Fribourg, and I have not attended formal classes since.

Mr. ARENS. Pick up the thread of your life and give us a chronology of the principal employments which you have had since completion of your formal education.

Mr. COGLEY. I have almost throughout my adult life been a Catholic journalist working on Catholic publications until I undertook the blacklisting study for the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. ARENS. What was the last publication on which you worked?

Mr. COGLEY. The Commonweal.

Mr. ARENS. Is that a Catholic publication?

Mr. COGLEY. It is a member of the Catholic Press Association.

Mr. ARENS. Is it a Catholic magazine?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that under date of March 27, 1954, the Very Reverend R. G. Bandas, in The Tablet, a Catholic magazine, made the statement for publication :

It is unfortunate that the Commonweal is described as a Catholic magazine, for actually such is not the case.

Are you cognizant of that statement by the Reverend Bandas?

Mr. COGLEY. I am, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Was he in error?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say, sir, that as long as the Commonweal remains a member in good standing of the Catholic Press Association, the Commonweal can be truly described as a Catholic publication.

Mr. ARENS. When did you first become associated with the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. COGLEY. I became associated with the Fund for the Republic in September 1954. I am not sure of the exact date, but I think it might have been September 16.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity were you first associated with the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. COGLEY. At that time, in September—if it was the 16th or 15th; but surely around that time—I was summoned to the office of the Fund for the Republic by the president of the Fund, Mr. Hutchins, and the vice president of the Fund at that time, Mr. Ferry. I had met neither of these gentlemen before that time.

They asked me—they told me, rather, that the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic had authorized a blacklisting study; that is, blacklisting in the entertainment industry, and they asked me if I was interested in undertaking this and directing it.

I said that I wanted to think it over, since it meant my leaving the Commonweal, but at that time I felt that I wanted a change and I think it was about 2 days later that I called and agreed to do this work for the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. ARENS. Were you engaged as the director of the project?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Prior to the time that you accepted the employment with the Fund for the Republic, were you cognizant of the position which had been taken by Robert Maynard Hutchins on the question of employment of Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. I think, sir, that I might mention that I was not employed by the Fund for the Republic in the usual sense. I was assigned as a consultant which meant that I was not on the employment roll, but rather, on the consultants' roll.

Mr. ARENS. You received compensation for your labors, did you not?

Mr. COGLEY. I received a consultant's fee to which the usual employment benefits did not apply.

Mr. ARENS. Reverting, if you please, sir, to the principal question which is outstanding: Prior to the time that you assumed this responsibility as director of the project to which we have been alluding in our questions and answers, were you cognizant of the positions taken by Mr. Hutchins, the president of the Fund, on the question of employment of Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. This was in September 1954 that I accepted this assignment from the Fund for the Republic. Before being called by

Mr. Hutchins and Mr. Ferry, I must say that I had never heard of the Fund for the Republic.

My knowledge of Mr. Hutchins was as an editor and I had read his books on education. I had no knowledge that Mr. Hutchins was the president of the Fund for the Republic. I had a hazy remembrance that he was associated in some way with the Ford Foundation.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any recollection as to whether or not you, prior to the time that you assumed your responsibilities as director of the study for the Fund for the Republic, were aware of the positions taken by Mr. Hutchins on the question of employing Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. I knew nothing of Mr. Hutchins' position on this or any other question, except his educational theories, before taking this appointment.

(At this point Chairman Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly tell us, if you please, sir, what were your general duties and responsibilities as director of the project?

Mr. COGLEY. I was told by these two officers of the Fund for the Republic that the board of the Fund had authorized this study, and that I was being asked to direct the study. These are the instructions I received:

First, that I should find the facts and the only mention made here was that the board, in its authorization for this study, had said that they wanted the study to——

Mr. MOULDER (presiding). Would you suspend, please, Mr. Counsel? Would the talking and interruptions be discontinued?

Mr. ARENS. Can we resume?

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed.

Mr. COGLEY. My only instructions were that I should get the facts, regardless of what they were. I was in complete charge. The Fund would supply me with such staff as I needed and this staff could be of my own choosing.

Mr. ARENS. Did you select the staff?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you select all members of the staff?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you select Paul Jacobs?

Mr. COGLEY. I selected all members of the staff, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Prior to the time that you selected the members of the staff, did you undertake to ascertain their background and competency to engage in the study which you were inaugurating?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you check into the background of Michael Harrington?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. What was Michael Harrington's responsibility with the study?

Mr. COGLEY. Michael Harrington was assigned by me to be a personal assistant throughout the study.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us just in a word what were the general areas of his activity.

Mr. COGLEY. He accompanied me on interviews. I consulted with him from time to time. At the very beginning of the project, I asked him to join with me in trying to get an overall picture of this situation

before we chose the staff so that we would know what kind of staff to choose.

Mr. ARENS. Did he help you in selecting the staff?

Mr. COGLEY. I consulted with him; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know at the time that you engaged Michael Harrington that he had been a member of the Young Socialist League?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not know what organizations Mr. Harrington belonged to at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Did you ascertain from him whether or not he was a Socialist?

Mr. COGLEY. You mean did I ask him, "Are you a Socialist?"

Mr. ARENS. Yes; did you ascertain from any source whether or not your assistant, your right-hand man, Michael Harrington, was a Socialist?

Mr. COGLEY. I knew that he was a Socialist. I did not know what organizations he belonged to.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that he had authored a number of articles or at least some articles in Challenge, the Young Socialist League's section in Labor Action?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir. I knew about his 30 articles in the Catholic Press and anti-Communist articles in the Catholic Press with which I was much more familiar.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know about Michael Harrington's activities on behalf of the Rosenbergs?

Mr. COGLEY. Would you describe those activities, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Did you know of any activities by Michael Harrington on behalf of the Rosenbergs?

Mr. COGLEY. May I consult a paper?

Mr. ARENS. Certainly.

Mr. COGLEY. This is the extent of my knowledge of Michael Harrington's activities on behalf of the Rosenbergs. I read in the March 1953 Catholic Worker a story under the head "Story on Rosenberg Case, Stalinist Intrusion of Anti-Semitism Into the Case."

Mr. ARENS. Was that the only information you had respecting any connection of Michael Harrington with the movement to secure clemency for the Rosenbergs?

Mr. COGLEY. That is all I knew at that time; what was in that article.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know of Michael Harrington's connection with the War Resisters' League?

Mr. COGLEY. Not at that time; no, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently learn of his connection with the War Resisters' League?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know of his connection with the War Resisters' League at any time prior to the time that I have just posed these questions to you?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir. I do not know the organization. Perhaps I can clarify things if I say the only organization I knew Michael Harrington to be connected with was the Workers Defense League, where he had been employed some time before he joined our staff or, that is, the blacklist project staff.

Mr. ARENS. Did you employ Paul Jacobs as one of your assistants in this study?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In what capacity was Paul Jacobs employed?

Mr. COGLEY. Paul Jacobs was recommended to me as a knowledgeable anti-Communist by a movie producer; that is, a movie executive. Therefore, I assigned Mr. Jacobs to the Hollywood study—he lives in Los Angeles—to concentrate especially on communism in Hollywood and the labor situation in Hollywood.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that Paul Jacobs had been a member of the Young Communist League?

(Chairman Walter and Representative Frazier entered the hearing room at this point.)

Mr. COGLEY. I knew not at the time I hired him what his affiliations were, but I understood very shortly after that that some 20 years earlier, or 22 years earlier, I believe, Mr. Jacobs had briefly belonged to the Young Communist League.

Mr. ARENS. Did you hire Dr. Marie Jahoda as one of your associates and assistants?

Mr. COGLEY. Dr. Marie Jahoda was involved in the project on quite a different basis. A grant was made to the New York University Research Center—I can't think of the name of it right now—that is, she is associated with it.

Mr. ARENS. Was that the Research Center for Human Relations of New York University?

Mr. COGLEY. That is right, sir. This was at my suggestion. The grant was taken from the money which had been applied to be used for the blacklist study.

Mr. ARENS. Did you check into the background of Dr. Marie Jahoda before you recommended her for engagement by the Fund to make this study?

Mr. COGLEY. I recommended the New York University Research Center that you referred to earlier, not her particularly.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know when she was admitted into the United States?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that she was admitted into the United States only in 1945?

Mr. COGLEY. She has a pronounced accent. I presumed it was not too long ago.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that prior to her association with the study of which you were director that she had issued reports or studies herself critical of the loyalty programs of this Government, published reports?

Mr. COGLEY. I had read nothing of Dr. Jahoda's before the grant was made to the Research Center of New York University.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know anything about her connection with the Socialist Democratic Party in Austria prior to the time that she became identified with the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. COGLEY. I knew nothing about Dr. Jahoda's personal life except that she was associated with New York University and was in charge of the research center there.

Mr. ARENS. Did you engage any former FBI agents as your assistants to develop this study?

Mr. COGLEY. Not that I know of.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, in the course of your work in developing the facts for this study, consult with the Federal Bureau of Investigation?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has an accumulation of information which is available to such organizations as the Fund for the Republic and other such groups upon solicitation?

Mr. COGLEY. No; I did not know that at the time.

Mr. ARENS. Did you subsequently learn that the Federal Bureau of Investigation has a vast accumulation of information which is available to private foundations and groups on various subjects within the purview of the jurisdiction of the Bureau?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not know until right now.

Mr. ARENS. Give us, if you please, sir, just a word about the time element involved in this study. When did the study begin and when was it completed?

Mr. COGLEY. The study began during—that would be between, I would say, around the first of October, with only Mr. Harrington and me surveying the situation so that we would know what kind of a staff we needed, how many we needed, and so on.

It wasn't until around the first of January 1955 that we had assembled the staff and began in earnest. It was at that time that we hired, or rather rented, an office in the Chelf Hotel in New York City.

The staff worked 8 or 9 months. Some finished earlier than others, and during the summer months and the fall months they were dismissed and three persons remained—myself, Mr. Harrington, and James Greene, who functioned as secretary.

At this point, I assembled the mass of material and produced the report. I turned the report in in this mimeographed version you have in front of you, I think it was on December 15 or thereabouts, 1955, to the vice president of the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. ARENS. Now, was that report which you turned in in mimeographed form subsequently revised?

Mr. COGLEY. It was revised; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Who did the revising?

Mr. COGLEY. I did.

Mr. ARENS. During the course of your study did you solicit and acquire information on this subject matter from the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. COGLEY. When you ask questions like this, sir, may I take it that you mean also members of my staff, not me, personally?

Mr. ARENS. That is correct; yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have before you a library of the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And did you solicit and acquire information from the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee?

Mr. COGLEY. I can't answer that, sir, at the moment because I know that one of my staff members came to Washington and talked with several people, and I don't know which committee they were associated with.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Cogley, you have a set of the reports with you?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention at this time, if you please, sir, to volume I, page 89. I should like to read you the footnote there. Then I will have a question or two.

Do you have it before you now, please, sir?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I will read slowly. [Reading:]

There is a California act setting forth that, "No employer shall coerce or influence or attempt to coerce or influence his employees through or by means of threat of discharge or loss of employment to adopt or follow or refrain from adopting or following any particular course or line of political action or political activity."

That is a footnote on page 89 of volume I of the report; is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. It is a partial footnote. Would you continue it, sir?

Mr. ARENS. I want only that part of it. That is the part that is in quotes to which I want to invite your attention.

Mr. COGLEY. May I ask you to continue reading the whole footnote?

Mr. ARENS. I am going to continue reading it in a moment. I want to invite your attention to the quotation, sir, of the California act which I have just quoted to you. That is a quotation of the California act, is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you accept that quotation there in the footnote of volume I on page 89 of your report as encompassing what you describe as blacklisting?

(At this point Representative Willis entered the room.)

Mr. DOYLE. May I have that question again, please?

Mr. ARENS. I think that perhaps I could give it to the Congressman in reference to the language I have just read so that the whole question is complete. I have just read, Congressman Doyle, to Mr. Cogley a quotation from a California act.

Mr. DOYLE. I have the reference, but I was listening carefully and I did not clearly hear your question of the witness.

Mr. ARENS. I asked him whether or not the definition which is contained in this footnote from the California act which I have just read to Mr. Cogley encompasses his definition or description of blacklisting.

Mr. DOYLE. You mean his personal definition?

Mr. ARENS. The definition contained in the report.

Mr. COGLEY. This would be a partial description of blacklisting as it is used in the report, but certainly it would not suffice to me to be a definition.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you now with reference to the language which you first pointed out a few moments ago: This footnote which we have just read says among other things in addition to the definition:

The California Supreme Court, however, has decided that this statute does not prohibit an employer's discharging persons whose loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the satisfaction of the employer, because disloyalty or "subversive" activity is not a protected "political activity."

I ask you, Mr. Cogley, do you accept this annotation which I have just read as the definition of blacklisting as contained in your report?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say that there could be blacklisting which might be justified legally or nonjustified. Any blacklisting that is refusing to hire certain persons according to this doctrine as enunci-

ated by the California Supreme Court would certainly be legal blacklisting.

Mr. ARENS. Then the blacklisting which you describe in this report is something which encompasses more than legal blacklisting; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Pardon, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Is the area circumscribed in your report and described in your report as blacklisting something more than blacklisting as defined by the law?

Mr. COGLEY. I think that in our legal study which is part of this report we find that there is no recourse to the law for any kind of blacklisting, that it is a problem which has to be solved outside the law.

Mr. ARENS. Just answer that question precisely, if you please, Mr. Cogley.

Mr. COGLEY. Perhaps I did not understand.

Mr. ARENS. This definition of blacklisting contained in the California statute?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't know that it is a definition, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The definition of what you have called political screening.

Mr. COGLEY. Is it a definition? Are you asking me, is this a definition?

Mr. ARENS. Let's be as precise as human language, at least at my command, can make it. The California statute which is quoted in the footnote on page 89 of volume I prohibits the coercion or influence by an employer of an employee for a line of political action or political activity; does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The annotation to the statute states, in effect, does it not, that the California Supreme Court says that the statute does not prohibit an employer discharging persons whose loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the satisfaction of the employer because disloyalty or subversive activity is not a protected political activity; that is correct; is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Now, throughout your report you speak of blacklisting; do you not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is the blacklisting which you encompass in your report something more than the blacklisting or the activity described in the California statute which I have just read to you?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say that in this particular volume which deals with employees in California, it is covered by this footnote; in other words, that the loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the satisfaction of the employer because loyalty or subversive activity is not a protected political activity, depending upon the employer.

I interviewed a number of employers and some employers in this industry put their argument on an economic basis.

Mr. ARENS. May I approach this question a little differently? Are there any cases in your treatise here which you describe as blacklisting which fall within the purview of the annotation to the California act: namely, instances in which an employer has discharged persons

whose loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the employer's satisfaction?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

(At this point Representative Velde entered the room.)

Mr. ARENS. Then your definition of blacklisting goes further than the definition of acts contained in the California statute; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. You asked me if there was a case in this volume. I answered there is a case in this volume. Do you wish me to describe the case?

Mr. ARENS. No; I am only trying to establish here a matter of semantics. We have quoted to you a California statute to which you have alluded in your volume prohibiting certain acts. We have also quoted to you the annotation to that California statute which you have quoted in your treatise, and in that annotation we find that a discharge for subversive activity or a discharge of a person whose loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the satisfaction of the employer is not within the purview of the statute.

I am now asking you again, do you treat as blacklisting the discharge of people whose loyalty to the Nation has not been established to the satisfaction of the employer?

Mr. COGLEY. Anyone that the employer will not employ as a person, I would say, is blacklisted by the employer. In further answer to your question—

Mr. ARENS. May I interpose this question, not trying to be discourteous to you?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Irrespective of the reason; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. At that point, may I ask you, is it blacklisting, according to your semantics here in this treatise, for an employer to discharge a person who has been identified before a congressional committee as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Well, we will have to take it this way: If the employer says, "I will not hire this person who has been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy, or any other person who has been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy," we have to find a word for that decision, and for that practice, and for that thought.

The usual word is "blacklisting."

Mr. ARENS. Then, is it a fact that your definition and use of the term "blacklisting" encompasses those cases in which an employer discharges an employee because he has been identified before a congressional committee under oath as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. It encompasses, but it is broader than that.

Mr. ARENS. It is even broader than a discharge of people who have been identified as Communists; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 97 of volume I of your treatise on movies. At the top of the page we read this language:

Names of those cited as Communists by cooperative witnesses were listed alphabetically. Everyone cited was blacklisted in the studios.

That language appears in your report, does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. What page?

Mr. ARENS. Page 97 of volume I.

So that the record is clear, let me read this again. On page 97 of volume I you say:

Names of those cited as Communists by cooperative witnesses were listed alphabetically. Everyone cited was blacklisted in the studios.

That is a correct quotation from your report, is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, those cited as Communists were people who had been identified as Communists before a congressional committee, were they not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And when you say those people were blacklisted, then your term on blacklisting encompasses the refusal to hire people who have been identified as Communists; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. It encompasses and it is broader; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to page 162 of volume I. About halfway down toward the middle of the page, I invite your attention to this language:

All the studios are now unanimous in their refusal to hire persons identified as Communist Party members who have not subsequently testified in full before the House Un-American Activities Committee. The studios are equally adamant about not hiring witnesses who have relied upon the fifth amendment before congressional committees.

Is that a correct recitation of the language from your report?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is it correct, then, to state that your concept of blacklisting, as used throughout this report, encompasses people who have been identified as Communist Party members before the House Committee on Un-American Activities, and when, in addition to the identification, they have been called before the committee and have invoked the fifth amendment; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. It encompasses, but it goes beyond that.

Mr. ARENS. Yes; we will get into how far it goes beyond that in just a little while, if you please, sir.

Now, I invite your attention to page 22 of volume I. On page 22 of volume I we read what you have subsequently described as the Waldorf statement, do we not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I should like, if I may, sir, to read to you certain excerpts from the heart of the Waldorf statement. If I omit anything that you think is pertinent, germane, or important, you invite my attention to it.

We will forthwith discharge or suspend without compensation those in our employ and we will not reemploy any of the 10 until such time as he is acquitted or has purged himself of contempt and declares under oath that he is not a Communist.

On the broader issue of alleged subversive and disloyal elements in Hollywood, our members are likewise prepared to take positive action.

We will not knowingly employ a Communist or a member of any party or group which advocates the overthrow of the Government of the United States by force or by any illegal or unconstitutional methods.

Is that a true and correct representation of the heart of the Waldorf statement?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to page 23, the subsequent page, to the last 2 or 3 lines. Quoting from your report:

Such were the beginnings of blacklisting in the motion-picture industry.

Is it a fair appraisal and characterization of the Waldorf statement together with your characterization, that the refusal of the motion-picture industry to employ people who have been identified as Communists, and their recitation and announcement that they will not knowingly engage subversive or disloyal elements, was the beginning of blacklisting within the framework of that term used in this report?

Mr. COGLEY. Perhaps I can explain myself if I say that I think that in ordinary usages, a refusal to hire someone is called blacklisting that person.

Mr. ARENS. Irrespective of reason; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Irrespective of reason; yes, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. What was that answer?

Mr. ARENS. Irrespective of reason.

Mr. SCHERER. Includes blacklisting?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 77 of volume I, about the middle of the page. Alluding to the Waldorf statement, we see this language, sir:

As a result of the Waldorf policy, 10 men were fired immediately.

Now, within the framework and concept that you have of the term "blacklisting," were those 10 men who were fired immediately pursuant to the Waldorf policy, blacklisted?

Mr. COGLEY. After they were fired, they were blacklisted; yes, sir. They would not be rehired. I would not confuse the word "fire" with blacklisting.

Mr. ARENS. Now, kindly tell us whether or not, within the framework of your definition or use of the term "blacklisting," it is blacklisting for an employer to refuse to hire or to maintain in employment a Communist sympathizer?

Mr. COGLEY. A refusal to hire a person for whatever reason, as I said before, in ordinary usage is called blacklisting that person. This may be justified, unjustified, wrong, or right, but I know no other English word to describe the process.

Mr. ARENS. Is it justifiable for an employer to refuse to hire within the framework of your term "blacklisting" a person who has been identified before a congressional committee as a member of the Communist conspiracy, and who, when confronted with the live witnesses that testified, invokes the fifth amendment?

Is that action on the part of the employer justified, even though you have called it blacklisting?

Mr. COGLEY. Is that action on the part of the employer justified?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. I think that depends on the job that the person is doing. I think that at least in California the employer has a perfectly legal right to do this if he chooses. I can only put forth my own opinion on whether it is good or bad.

I think I have to have a specific case, but throughout this report—

Mr. ARENS. We will get to a number of specific cases later, Mr. Cogley. I just want to get from you the position which you maintain in this report published by the Fund for the Republic at tax-exempt operations, whether or not your position is that an employer is justified in discharging a person identified as a Communist.

Mr. COGLEY. I have not expressed any position in the report. I would prefer not to express any position now. I have simply stated the various alternatives and the various arguments that have been put forth, as you notice, reading through the report.

Mr. ARENS. Is an employer justified in discharging or in refusing to hire, which mean about the same attitude, a person who is a Communist Party sympathizer?

Mr. COGLEY. Are you asking me if I say so in this report or my own feeling?

Mr. ARENS. Is it your position that an employer in the entertainment industry is justified in refusing employment to such a person?

Mr. COGLEY. I have no position. I have put forth no position in the report. I have put forth no position in any public place and I would consider this very private, and I wonder if it is necessary for me, for the first time, to put forth my position on this?

Mr. ARENS. May I pose the question a little bit differently? If an employer discharges or refuses to hire a person who is on the basis of the satisfactory judgments of the employer a Communist Party sympathizer, is that employer engaged in blacklisting?

Mr. COGLEY. He has certainly blacklisted the person he has refused to hire if we accept the only word in English I know which describes the process.

Mr. ARENS. Now, if an employer refuses to hire or if he discharges a person who is a Communist Party fellow traveler, is he blacklisting that person?

Mr. COGLEY. I think I would have to give the same answer. Again, it is the only word I know to describe refusal to hire somebody.

Mr. ARENS. What do you mean by a Communist Party sympathizer?

Mr. COGLEY. Shall I answer, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. What do you mean by a Communist Party sympathizer? We have been discussing that.

Mr. COGLEY. I suppose I would mean by that a person who has no membership in the Communist Party, but has a certain sympathy for the Communist Party, period. I guess that is it.

Mr. ARENS. You use that term throughout your book, do you not?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't recall how often I use it.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to page 153 of volume II at the middle of the page, an illustration which I have just picked out as one of many in which you use the term "either Communists or party sympathizers."

What do you mean by a "fellow traveler"?

Mr. COGLEY. I am sorry. Is this 152?

Mr. ARENS. Page 153 of volume II. What do you mean by a "fellow traveler"?

Mr. COGLEY. By a fellow traveler, I think I would take as a definition a man who does not belong to the Communist Party but goes along with the Communist Party on most issues.

Mr. ARENS. And could a person be a fellow traveler or some entity other than in the Communist Party by your concept?

Mr. COGLEY. Well, the word is used usually to define someone who has that kind of a relationship to the Communist Party. I have heard it used colloquially to refer to other things, other relationships, but I think that is the usual understanding of the word "fellow traveler."

Mr. ARENS. Now, on page 137 of your report on radio and television, volume II, you describe George Sokolsky as "an AWARE fellow traveler"; do you not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I assume you mean by that that his relationship to AWARE is in the same pattern and is the relationship of a fellow traveler to the Communist Party.

Mr. COGLEY. He is not a member of the group, but he is sympathetic to its aims and program.

Mr. ARENS. Now, if a banker—and the chairman of this committee is a banker—happens to learn that one of his employees is a gambler and discharges him for that reason, is the banker who commits that act engaged in blacklisting?

Mr. COGLEY. The discharge is certainly not blacklisting, but if the employee can never again get a job in that company, the usual English word for that situation is that he is blacklisted in that company. He cannot return there to work because of his bad reputation.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to volume II of your report, page 23, and I use that reference, as I believe you will agree with me, as a typical illustration of the terminology of the report, in which you say:

Political discrimination had existed in the radio industry before 1949.

You then go on with other phraseologies.

(At this point Chairman Walter left the hearing room.)

Mr. COGLEY. What page is this, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Page 23, if you please, sir, of volume II on radio and television. You say "Political discrimination." Is it political discrimination by your concept and by the concept of the report for an employer to discharge an employee because that person has been identified before a congressional committee as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. If he is discriminating against him, that is a word, "discriminating" against him because he is a member of the Communist conspiracy, and one wanted to find an adjective, I can't think of any other adjective than "political" unless one could say "conspiratorial discrimination."

Can you suggest a word, sir? I thought and thought, trying to find one and all I found was "political."

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to volume II, page 214, toward the bottom of the page, in which Paul Robeson is described as a "political person."

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That appears in this report; does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. With quotes; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That Paul Robeson was described as a "political person."

Mr. COGLEY. In quotes.

Mr. ARENS. At the time that this report was written, were you cognizant of the fact that Paul Robeson was one of the hard, hardcore members of the Communist conspiracy in the United States?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you describe him, instead of a "political person," describe him as a Communist, as a Communist agent?

Mr. COGLEY. I could have.

Mr. ARENS. Well, do you feel that the term "political person" encompasses a Communist?

Mr. COGLEY. No, I have to ask you to consider this choice of words in the context of the sentence.

Mr. ARENS. I will read you the entire sentence, then, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In fact, I will read the entire paragraph:

In general the few actors who have found it difficult to find work on Broadway are people so politically active that their "unemployability" is based on the fact that they are a nuisance to work with. Producers who are quite willing to hire actors "listed" in Red Channels or even those who refuse to cooperate with congressional committees, draw the line in cases where they feel a performer is primarily a "political person."

Mr. COGLEY. Political person.

Mr. ARENS. Political person is in quotes—

who also acts, rather than an actor who happens to take an interest in politics. But these cases are relatively few in number. The exclusion of such performers is not based on the existence of any kind of a "list."

Paul Robeson is a good example.

Do you mean that Paul Robeson is an example of a "political person"?

Mr. COGLEY. I mean that Paul Robeson has to be distinguished between other persons who have the general reputation of being Communists or who have refused to cooperate with this committee at least by taking the fifth amendment. These persons are not unemployable on Broadway.

Paul Robeson is. I could not have made my point if I merely referred to Paul Robeson as a Communist because there are Communists, I presume, who are employed on Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you whether or not in your judgment Paul Robeson is a "political person"?

Mr. COGLEY. I used this phrase in quotes meaning, as I say here, one who is so active that he becomes a nuisance to the rest of the cast.

Mr. ARENS. Would the refusal to employ Paul Robeson or the discharge of Paul Robeson constitute blacklisting in your concept as used in the report?

Mr. COGLEY. If Paul Robeson cannot work on Broadway, I know no other word to describe his not working, that process, in any case, by which he is excluded except that he is blacklisted on Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know of any cases or did your study develop any cases in which a person was denied an employment because he was a member of the Republican Party or of the Democratic Party?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Then, your term "political discrimination" and "political screening," and "political person" does not encompass an activity that is legitimate within the Republican Party or the Democratic Party; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. I know people who have been blacklisted who belong to one of these two parties, but they were not blacklisted precisely because they belonged to these parties. I would say that my definition includes more than membership in the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. Does there exist, and did your study develop facts indicating the existence of an actual blacklist? I emphasize, now, the word "list."

Mr. COGLEY. In which industry, sir?

Mr. ARENS. In any industry.

Mr. COGLEY. Well, I covered two.

Mr. ARENS. Let's take the television industry. Does your study develop the existence of a list?

Mr. COGLEY. I think I say in the study there is a multiplicity of lists which are used or have been used in the past in a most erratic way by people employing persons in the radio-television industry.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, if you please, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. Shall I answer on the movie industry?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir. I did not mean to preclude you from a complete answer.

Mr. COGLEY. A movie producer, Mr. Y. Frank Freeman, of the Paramount Pictures, when I asked him about this, leaned back and picked up the annual reports of this House committee and said, "I do not employ anyone who is found on these lists."

Mr. ARENS. When he said "found on these lists," did he explain to you that he meant people who had been identified under oath by responsible witnesses before this committee as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 237 of volume II, report of blacklisting, about the middle of the page. I believe this is the contribution, is it not, of Miss Jahoda?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. When she speaks on the question of blacklisting, she says, "But there is no list." Do you see it? I will show you on my copy and it will help you. "But there is no list." She was speaking the truth, was she not, when she said in this report there is no list? There is no blacklist, as such?

Mr. COGLEY. I think that if you will read this paragraph you will see that the first sentence:

The essential aspect of this definition * * * is denied by all top executives who were consulted.

Then she is quoting the executives.

There are "sources." * * * There are "mysterious telephone numbers." * * * But there is no list.

Mr. ARENS. But she is not there quoting the executives when she says there is no list.

Mr. COGLEY. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Let's try another one. Look at page 121 of volume II, and I invite your attention to the footnote there alluding to the question of blacklisting. The footnote reads as follows, and I will read it slowly:

These are not to be taken as literal lists. Those who are totally "unemployable" (comparatively few) are, in this context, "blacklisted."

Now, I ask you, Is there a list, a blacklist, as such?

Mr. COGLEY. I said earlier that there were a multiplicity of lists, no one list, in this particular field used by a number of people without any order at all, and I think I made that point clear throughout the book.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention again to this same footnote on page 121 of volume II:

Those who are totally "unemployable" (comparatively few) are, in this context, "blacklisted."

In your judgment, on the basis of your study and investigation, how many were at the time of your report "totally unemployable"?

Mr. COGLEY. Since this whole process is largely carried on in secret, I would not know the difference between totally unemployable and partially unemployable. I would say, though, that persons who have been identified before this committee and have either not come forth and cooperated with the committee or have taken the fifth amendment before this committee are by and large totally unemployable in this industry.

Mr. ARENS. You, in your report, list the names of a number of people who have been identified as members of the Communist Party who, by your own statements, are presently employed on Broadway; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, if you please—

Mr. COGLEY. This, sir, was referring to radio-television industry, this reference that you referred to. I said they are totally unemployable in the particular industry, not totally unemployable.

Mr. ARENS. I see. Now, do you consider that blacklisting, as you described it within the framework of the treatise here, is a difficult problem within the radio-television industry?

Mr. COGLEY. Very difficult.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to volume II, page 265, of your report to a questionnaire which you circulated to numerous people in the industry.

Mr. COGLEY. That was Dr. Jahoda's survey. I had nothing to do with it.

Mr. ARENS. Dr. Jahoda's survey circulated a questionnaire to a great number of people in the industry, and one of the questions was as follows:

What do you consider the most difficult problem facing the (radio) (TV) industry today?

There are a number of possible selections. How many answered the question as to whether they considered blacklisting to be a difficult problem?

Mr. COGLEY. I am sorry. I don't understand.

Mr. ARENS. Only one person in the whole questionnaire answered that he, as a spokesman for the industry, considered blacklisting to be a difficult problem; isn't that correct? And I invite your attention to the answer to the questionnaire sent out by Miss Jahoda for her study, on page 265 of volume II.

Mr. COGLEY. It is not correct.

Mr. ARENS. Then you give me the correct answer.

Mr. COGLEY. The statement is:

What do you consider the most difficult problem facing the (radio) (TV) industry today—

not a difficult problem.

Mr. ARENS. Well, within the framework of your qualification as to whether or not it is a most difficult, or the most difficult, problem we see the following questions:

Radio

TV

Economic survival:

Management does not meet TV challenge

Radio must lose

Challenge serious but radio can win

Immaturity

Mediocrity, poor quality

High production costs

Sponsors and ad agencies only interested in selling

Management misjudges public

and so forth.

But to that questionnaire, only one person, is it not true, answered that he found blacklisting to be the most difficult problem facing the radio-TV industry?

Mr. COGLEY. That is correct, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, if you please, to this subject matter. On the basis of your study and investigation with the resources of this fund at your disposal, did you ascertain how many people have instituted lawsuits under the law on defamation because they had been wrongly characterized as members of the Communist conspiracy and, therefore, deprived of employment?

Mr. COGLEY. A special study was done on the legal problem here involved in this situation. I never questioned that people who were named before the committee as Communists who did not come forth, that any percentage whatsoever of them instituted lawsuits.

Mr. ARENS. Did you undertake to ascertain how many criminal actions under the criminal libel statutes were instituted against people for falsely and maliciously charging other people with being members of the Communist Party and, therefore, depriving them of their employment in the industry?

Mr. COGLEY. There are many things; there are many different ways this study could have been written.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make an ascertainment of that fact?

Mr. COGLEY. You could ask me 600 questions as to "Did you do this?" I think I should answer what I did, not what I should have done or what you would have done.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us what you did to make an ascertainment of the number of people who were subjected to criminal proceedings because of falsely naming another as being a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not; no, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make a study on the number of persons who, though one-time members of the Communist conspiracy, had been rehabilitated and, therefore, reemployed by the industry?

Mr. COGLEY. The exact number, no; but a general idea, yes.

Mr. ARENS. What is a fair approximation of the number of people who, though one time deprived of employment because of Communist activities or affiliations, were nevertheless subsequently rehabilitated and reemployed?

Mr. COGLEY. I do not have my files, and I would not make an approximation, but I think by going through the records of this, if this committee will, it would be easy to find.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be in the hundreds?

Mr. COGLEY. I doubt it.

Mr. ARENS. Would it be in the dozens?

Mr. COGLEY. It would be at least more than a dozen; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. How many people on the basis of your study who broke with the Communist conspiracy came before this House Committee on Un-American Activities or some other governmental agency and disclosed the facts of their prior activities and patriotically revealed to the representatives of their government the operation of the conspiracy of which they had cognizance? How many of those people, to your knowledge, were thereafter deprived of employment in the industry?

Mr. COGLEY. In the very early days, I think there was some difficulty in these people getting work. After that the situation was straightened out and most of them went back to work.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to volume I, page 80, of your report. I should like to read your some language:

Gale Sondergaard, wife of Herbert Biberman of the Hollywood Ten, found that she was suddenly "unemployable" after her husband refused to testify, though she had previously made about 45 pictures, had won an Oscar for her performance in *Anthony Adverse* and had been nominated for another after she appeared in *Anna and the King of Siam*. Following the 1947 hearings, Miss Sondergaard made only one film, produced by Mervyn LeRoy. LeRoy told her that he had been questioned by dozens of people who asked him wonderingly if he did not know who she was.

The theme of that narrative is continued on page 162 of the same volume. I shall continue reading:

At the time of the 1951 hearings, Gale Sondergaard addressed the executive board of the Actors Guild through an ad in *Variety*. Miss Sondergaard asked the union to support her right to plead the fifth amendment and to make a public declaration that it would not tolerate any industry blacklist against any of its members.

That appears in your volume, does it not, as one of the sad cases of blacklisting; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you tell your readers in this publication of this sad case of Gale Sondergaard, who was blacklisted that the public testimony before this committee of 12 people either who were members or former members of the Communist conspiracy identified Gale Sondergaard as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, in the first place, I was referring here to the story of 1947 in the first reference you made. At that time, Miss Sondergaard, as far as I know, had not been named. In the 1951 mention here, you will find I think—

Mr. ARENS. This report was written in 1953 and 1954 and 1955; was it not?

Mr. COGLEY. That is correct. I say I am merely relating the details here that in 1947 this had happened. At that time she had not been named before the committee. Then you made two references. You go to 1951 hearings and that she was subpoenaed to the 1951 hearings, and you will see that I said also in this book, quoting a former representative of this committee, that in the 1951 hearings the committee called no one unless they had proof that that person was a Communist.

If a person were to read the book, he would know that all that were called at the 1951 hearings, at least, that the committee had proof

that they were Communists. Therefore, the reference to Miss Sondergaard as having been called at the 1951 hearings shows that Miss Sondergaard in the opinion of this committee, in any case, was a proved Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Now on your page 80 of volume I, isn't it a fair appraisal of your language that Miss Sondergaard's failure to obtain work was attributed to the refusal of her husband, Herbert Biberman, of the Hollywood Ten, to testify?

Mr. COGLEY. May I ask, in return, was Miss Sondergaard in 1947 when she failed to obtain work at that time had she been identified before this committee or any other committee?

Mr. ARENS. Although I am not a witness, I will say that the public testimony before this committee identifying her as a member of the Communist conspiracy did not come until 1951.

Mr. COGLEY. I am referring, then, to her losing her work in 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Is it not a fair appraisal of your language here that it is designed to lead the human mind to believe that Miss Sondergaard's failure to obtain work was attributed to the fact that her husband refused to testify?

Mr. COGLEY. In 1947, Miss Sondergaard had not yet been named before this committee or any other committee. This seems a fair appraisal that this was the reason.

Mr. ARENS. Did it occur to you that you might drop a footnote there, as you did in other instances, and say that Miss Sondergaard had been identified by 12 people under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. That is one thing I could have done. This is the way I wrote the book.

Mr. ARENS. May I invite your attention to volume I, page 78 of your book, at the top of the page, sir:

Gordon Kahn, another "unfriendly" screenwriter, found it hard to get work after 1947.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know, or did you ascertain, that Gordon Kahn had been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy by at least a dozen people?

Mr. COGLEY. In 1947?

Mr. ARENS. At any time.

Mr. COGLEY. Was he? I did not know that he had been named in 1947. I knew that he had been named later. I am recounting history here, and saying that he found it hard to get work after 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any place in your book, at any time, allude to the fact that Gordon Kahn had been identified under oath by approximately a dozen people as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I specified some cases. I did not mention everyone by name who had been mentioned before this committee. I referred to Gordon Kahn here merely in reference to the situation that existed in 1947.

Mr. ARENS. That was because he refused to testify before the House Committee on Un-American Activities pursuant to an identification of him as a member of the Communist conspiracy; is that not true?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't understand your question, sir.

Mr. ARENS. His unfriendly attitude which you envisage as the cause of his so-called blacklisting was attributed, was it not, to the hearings before the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. COGLEY. By "unfriendly" I meant the use of the word "unfriendly" here, that he did not cooperate with the committee in its hearings. This was the word that was used quite often at that time.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to the case of Anne Revere alluded to in volume I, page 79.

Among those who had participated in every major public protest against the hearings was Anne Revere, a character actress who had won an academy award for her performance in "National Velvet" and had been nominated for roles in "Gentlemen's Agreement" and "Song of Bernadette."

Between 1940 and 1950, Miss Revere appeared in 40 motion pictures and her career ascended steadily until the end of 1947. That year she worked 40 weeks. In 1949, when her name appeared on the amicus curiae brief, she worked 8 days, and in 1950, when her name appeared in Red Channels, she worked only 3 weeks. That year her agent went directly to the major Hollywood producers to find out if she was being blacklisted. The agent reported back to her that Dore Schary, of MGM, said he would hire her if he had a suitable part; but Y. Frank Freeman, of Paramount, and a Warner Bros. executive both said bluntly that their studios wanted no part of her. When the Hollywood hearings were resumed in 1951, Anne Revere was one of the first subpoenaed. She invoked the first and fifth amendments and has not worked in films since.

Why don't you tell your readers, in connection with the sad case of Anne Revere, that she has been identified before the Committee on Un-American Activities by a competent witness under oath, subject to the pain and penalties of perjury, as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I told my readers that all those who were subpoenaed in 1951, in the opinion of the committee, were proved Communists. Anne Revere was one of those.

Mr. ARENS. Did you quote the testimony of the witnesses who laid their liberty on the line and testified under oath, subject to the pains and penalties of perjury, that Anne Revere was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I said earlier that in all these cases I couldn't repeat it over and over again. I said that anyone that was called in the 1951 hearings by this committee, in the opinion of this committee was a proved Communist.

Mr. ARENS. Why didn't you make allusion, not to the opinion of this committee, but to the fact of the testimony by live witnesses before this committee who would put their liberty in jeopardy, on the word that Anne Revere was a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Again, it was a question of a book that I wrote. There were many ways I could have written this book. I would resent heartily any implication that I was defending anyone or that I was defending communism in any way whatsoever.

Mr. ARENS. In view of that statement, I invite your attention to pages 102 and 103, volume I, of your report on movies. I would like to say at least on behalf of the staff, and I would surmise on behalf of the committee, that you can say anything you want in your book and that the purpose of these hearings is not in any sense to censor what you say or to in any way restrict what you say.

The purpose of these hearings is exclusively to develop before this committee the facts and the truth. On pages 102 and 103 we read this language in your book :

By the time the 1951-52 hearings were well underway, the Smith Act had been held valid by the Supreme Court. Some of those subpoenaed in the spring of 1951 did not know whether they would be jailed or not. They knew that if they failed to cooperate with the committee there was absolute certainty that they would be blacklisted. The only real question, then, was what defense they might use to avoid imprisonment.

May I pause to interpolate? Wasn't there some question as to the possibility that they would tell the truth and tell the whole truth to the committee?

You say here the only question they had in their minds, the only question, was what defense they might use to avoid imprisonment. Couldn't there possibly have crossed their mind the possibility that the real question was, "Am I as a patriotic citizen going to tell this Committee on Un-American Activities the whole truth?"

Mr. COGLEY. That was undoubtedly true of some of those subpoenaed. I am referring to only one group; some of those subpoenaed, not all of those subpoenaed.

Mr. ARENS (reading) :

The 10 had been jailed after depending fruitlessly on the first amendment, and no other defense from a contempt charge for declining to answer questions before a congressional committee had been definitely established. The fifth amendment, with its clause protecting a witness against self-incrimination, appeared to many to be their only safe course.

This, however, carried with it a serious disadvantage. In 1950, the Supreme Court had decided in *Rogers v. U. S.* that a witness could not refuse to answer a question about the party under the fifth amendment, once he had admitted party membership. Since the committee made it clear during the Larry Parks hearing that after a man had admitted party membership he was expected to name others he had known as Communists, witnesses who would not name others but wanted to stay out of jail had the choice of either denying party membership and running the risk of perjury indictments, or of refusing to answer the question at all.

This meant that they also had to remain silent about accusations of disloyalty, espionage, and conspiracy which they were anxious to deny.

That is a true presentation of the language of your report; is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Would you read the footnote that is attached to the paragraph you just read? (P. 103, vol. I.)

Mr. ARENS (reading) :

It is beyond the competence and legal knowledge of the author of this report to venture an opinion on whether they were justified, according to this reasoning, to resort to the fifth amendment.

Now, may I ask you could they not have testified respecting the activities of other persons in the Communist Party?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. If they had not engaged in espionage, if they had not engaged in disloyalty, if they had not engaged in a conspiracy alluded to in the middle paragraph on page 103, could they not have taken an oath and denied it before the committee without invoking the fifth amendment?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir; I should say I am not putting forth in any sense a position of my own. I am trying to describe what happened to a certain number of people or how they acted. I certainly put no approval or disapproval on it in the book, nor on any other thing in

the book, since I have not made judgments on the actions of any people in the book.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention, to page 107, volume I.

Witnesses who invoked the fifth amendment were banished from the studios in a variety of ways.

That appears in your book, with reference to persons who invoked the fifth amendment before the committee; does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That banishment from the studios was not because they invoked the fifth amendment, in truth and in fact was it? It was because they had been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. COGLEY. And had not cooperated with the committee.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't it a fact that what you regard as banishment from the studios was not attributed exclusively to this invocation of the fifth amendment, but that banishment from the studios was, in addition, caused by the fact that they had been identified under oath by live witnesses before a congressional committee as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir; and that they did not then come before the committee and cooperate fully, but invoked the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention on page 107, volume I to the sad case of Howard Da Silva, in which you recite the facts of the Da Silva case and then quote someone as saying, "It is a case of blacklist, but I can't help it."

Mr. MOULDER (presiding). To what are you referring?

Mr. ARENS. To the middle of page 107 at the end of the recitation of the Da Silva case. "It is a case of blacklist, but I can't help it." Did you know at the time you authored this case of Da Silva that Da Silva had been identified in public testimony as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I say, sir, in my discussion of Da Silva that he was called before the committee in 1951 and as I will repeat again, I said all those called before the committee in 1951 in the opinion of this committee were proved Communists.

Mr. ARENS. I now invite your attention, if you please, to page 110 volume I with reference to the Sol Kaplan case, where you recite that—

blacklisting proceeded through 1951, 1952, and 1953—

and in which you say—

The industry had accepted the committee's—

that is, the House Committee on Un-American Activities—

new emphasis on "prestige, position, and money."

Mr. COGLEY. As opposed to film content. That was one reason to get rid of Communists in Hollywood.

Mr. ARENS. Yes; now, I invite your attention to page 111 with further reference to the Kaplan case.

A new order had made Kaplan's dismissal necessary, the executive told him. When Kaplan pressed him, the studio executive finally admitted that the musician was being fired for political reasons.

That is a true representation of your language, is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did it occur to you that you might have put a footnote there after recitation of the executive that Kaplan was being fired for political reasons and point out to the public reading this treatise published with tax-exempt funds that Kaplan had been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. If you will read the Kaplan case, sir, you will find that I said:

During his testimony, on April 8, 1953, Kaplan challenged the committee to produce his accusers and invoked almost the entire Bill of Rights when he refused to cooperate.

Mr. ARENS. Did you also, any place in your book, say that on September 11, 1953, there was made public the testimony of an individual testifying under oath before this committee that she knew Kaplan as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. What year was this, sir?

Mr. ARENS. So that your readers wouldn't get the impression that Kaplan was fired for "political reasons"?

Mr. COGLEY. What year, sir, was that?

Mr. ARENS. 1953.

Mr. COGLEY. What months, sir?

Mr. ARENS. September 1953.

Mr. COGLEY. When did I say Mr. Kaplan was fired? April 1953.

Mr. ARENS. I am asking if you in any place in your report which you prepared after this testimony in 1953, made allusion to the fact that there was made available to the world at large the testimony of a witness who identified Kaplan as a member of the Communist conspiracy before the House Committee on Un-American Activities under oath?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't know how this would have affected his previous firing before the lady had identified him. He was fired before he was identified, so it seems safe, then, to say that he was being fired for political reasons.

Mr. SCHERER. Isn't it conceivable that the industry that fired him knew at the time they fired him that he was named as a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. COGLEY. I should have expected them, in this case, to come to this committee immediately and tell them, and for this committee to publish it.

Mr. SCHERER. Perhaps they did.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 170 of volume I beginning in the first full paragraph.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS (reading):

Blacklisted persons in the motion-picture industry include some who have won academy awards and many who have been nominated for the coveted Oscars at one time or another. Besides highly successful workers like Paul Jarrico, who was earning \$2,000 a week at the time he was blacklisted, they number such well-established writers as Michael Wilson, who won an academy award for his part in writing the script of *A Place in the Sun*.

Let me pause there and then we will pick up the thread of your language. Did you any place in your report tell the American people that Michael Wilson has been identified in public session under oath by several people as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I have said that all those who are blacklisted in Hollywood are persons who refused to cooperate with this committee by either taking the fifth amendment when they were called before this committee or by not coming before this committee in any case, but having been named as Communists.

It is implied there that anyone who is referred to here as a blacklisted person in the industry is one of those people.

Mr. ARENS. And in this same paragraph, you allude to the sad case of Abraham Polonsky, writer-director, who wrote *Body and Soul*. You, of course, are cognizant of the fact that Abraham Polonsky has been identified repeatedly as a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. COGLEY. I am aware that all the persons referred to here as blacklisted have been named before the committee and have refused to come before the committee without taking the fifth amendment, as I said in the book several times.

Mr. ARENS. I don't want in any sense to be putting you at a disadvantage because of misapprehension of the question.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You just said that everyone who has been blacklisted, to your knowledge, had been identified as a Communist, and then subsequently invoked the fifth amendment.

You said that just a moment ago. I want you to be sure that you understood that you said that because I think that you want to qualify that.

Mr. COGLEY. Here is what I said: That the movie or film industry is adamant in refusing to hire anyone who was named as a Communist and did not come before the committee and cooperate fully or who came before the committee and took the fifth amendment.

That would include all those listed here as blacklisted persons in the motion-picture industry.

Mr. ARENS. Does that include the sad case of Ben Maddow mentioned on page 170 of volume I.

Mr. COGLEY. I say, sir, that it would include all of them listed here.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 172 of volume I in which you tell us about the very sad case of "M" who was having difficulty obtaining employment and maintaining employment. In the course of this recitation of the sad case of M you say M is not only blacklisted from acting, but he is blacklisted in the electronics industry.

Is M a person who, to your knowledge, was identified before a congressional committee as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I believe you will find the second sentence says he was one of the group of more than 160 people named by screenwriter Martin Berkeley as a Communist before the House Un-American Activities Committee.

Mr. ARENS. If M is permanently blacklisted, doesn't there follow a sense of duty to tell this committee who M is so that we can reveal it, because perhaps he may be engaged in some type of defense work in the electronics industry?

Mr. COGLEY. This committee knows who M is. He was named before this committee by screenwriter Martin Berkeley.

Mr. ARENS. Would you tell us who M is?

Mr. COGLEY. I cannot say so.

Mr. ARENS. Would you confirm my suspicion that M is Michael Killian?

Mr. COGLEY. This research was done by a member of my research staff. I would have to consult with this person who did the research.

Mr. ARENS. On the basis of the facts cited in the sad case of Mr. M who has been cited not only in motion-picture industry, but likewise in the electronics industry, because he is a Communist, it appears to me and to other members of our staff that it must be Michael Killian.

Couldn't you tell us whether or not this man who is presently blacklisted in the electronics industry is the person identified heretofore as a member of the Communist conspiracy by the name of Michael Killian?

Mr. COGLEY. I cannot tell you, sir, without checking with the research reporter who did this particular work. The name Michael Killian is not familiar to me right now.

Mr. ARENS. Will you check with the reporter who did this research work and advise the committee whether or not this individual in this sad case of M is Michael Killian?

Mr. COGLEY. I will see if this reporter is willing to name the source of this information.

Mr. ARENS. All right, sir. Now, I invite your attention to pages 139 and 141 of volume I. "L," another actor, found himself "grey-listed." That is something less than blacklisted.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS (reading) :

* * * because, though no one has charged him with being a Communist that he knows of, he has not denied party membership, L's agent told him that until he makes such a denial he will not work again in motion pictures. L says he refuses to "clear" himself, because he believes it impossible to be cleared without naming others.

Please tell us what these others had been doing that he doesn't want to tell us about?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't know.

Mr. ARENS. Will you find out and let the committee know?

Mr. COGLEY. I can make an attempt, sir, to find out what he told the researcher and if the researcher is willing to name him, the researcher who did this—

Mr. ARENS. You know, of course, as a matter of practice on the basis of your intensive study of this question, that Communists have no hesitancy at all in lying if they are not under oath and not subject to the pains and penalties of perjury.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to page 138 of volume I. It is the case of "R." I will not consume the time to read it. It is a case in which R won't recite whether or not he is a member of the Communist conspiracy and therefore has been subject to some kind of obstacles in his employment.

Would you tell this committee who R is so that we can see whether or not he will tell the committee under oath whether or not he has ever been a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I will have to give the same answer I gave to the last one.

Mr. ARENS. Now, I invite your attention to page 24, volume II of your report; please sir, the first full paragraph:

In the spring of that year, William Sweets, a well-known radio director employed by the Phillips H. Lord packaging firm in New York, was told that the sponsors of the two shows he worked on had raised questions about his political associations. Sweets later said publicly that he was forced to resign. A group called the Voice of Freedom Committee took an interest in his case and loudly protested the forced resignation.

Did you know that the Voice of Freedom Committee is on the Attorney General's designated list?

Mr. COGLEY. There is a subsequent discussion in this book of the Voice of Freedom Committee. Would you permit me to refer back to it?

Mr. ARENS. Certainly, but did you at any place in your report tell the people who were reading this treatise published with tax-exempt funds that the Voice of Freedom Committee which raised this hue and cry over the difficulties of Mr. Sweets was a Communist-controlled organization?

Mr. COGLEY. I will have to refer back to—you see, this is a mass of material here and I have to familiarize myself all over again with some parts of it so I have to refer back to the other discussion of the Voice of Freedom.

I think the fact was left certainly quite clear in this discussion of the Voice of Freedom that it was communistic at least.

Mr. ARENS. Would you just take all the time you want and show this committee where you tell the people that the Voice of Freedom Committee was communistic, at least?

Mr. COGLEY. I said the implication was there, sir. I don't think it was spelled out.

Mr. MOULDER. You say that—

Later, attendance at Voice of Freedom rallies for Sweets was noted on various dossiers as evidence of pro-Communist sympathy.

Mr. COGLEY. That is a fact.

Mr. MOULDER. And that is a fact?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir; that is a fact. It is noted in Red Channels and other listings that persons attended that.

Mr. ARENS. Was it the William Sweets mentioned on page 24, who had questions raised about his political associations?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you any place tell your readers in this treatise published with tax-exempt funds that he had been a sponsor of the committee for the reelection of the Communist Benjamin Davis, that that was a matter of public record?

Mr. COGLEY. I didn't think I referred to that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any place tell your readers in this treatise that was published with tax-exempt funds that Bill Sweets, who was discriminated against because of his "political associations," was a sponsor of the May Day Parade in 1946, 1947, and 1948, the annual Communist celebrations?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, let me say right now that I was writing the history of this blacklisting problem in this industry. I was not rewriting Red Channels.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell them about Sweets' activities on behalf of the election of Benjamin Davis, the Communist, and his activities in

promoting the Communist May Day Parade and about his sponsorship of the Communist-controlled Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace in 1949?

(At this point, Representative Velde left the hearing room.)

Mr. COGLEY. I can only repeat what I said before. I was not writing that kind of a book.

Mr. ARENS. I invite your attention to page 30, volume II.

Mr. SCHERER. But what you said in your book wouldn't have been as effective if you had revealed what the counsel has said about Sweets.

Mr. COGLEY. Pardon me, sir?

Mr. SCHERER. The points you were trying to make in your book would not be nearly as effective in substantiating your position if you had mentioned these facts.

Mr. COGLEY. In many cases I did mention them and gave long listings right out of Red Channels.

Mr. ARENS. On page 30, volume II, of your treatise you make allusion to the case of Paul Draper and Larry Adler who had been accused of pro-Communist sympathy. They had not been accused of communism. They had been accused of pro-Communist sympathy. Isn't that correct, on page 30?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any place in your treatise list the Communist-front record of Larry Adler and of Paul Draper which is as long as two arms?

Mr. COGLEY. I was not dealing with that. I was discussing the fact. I was actually discussing Mrs. McCullough at this particular time, and made a reference merely to Mrs. McCullough and that was not referring to Paul Draper or Larry Adler only as it referred to Mrs. McCullough.

Mr. MOULDER. You were referring to a lawsuit at that point.

Mr. COGLEY. Let me read the paragraph and I think I will make myself clear.

Among those Kirkpatrick called was Mrs. Hester McCullough of Greenwich, Conn., wife of a Time editor. Mrs. McCullough had recently been involved in a legal suit with Paul Draper, the dancer, and the harmonica player Larry Adler.

I was discussing Mrs. McCullough. She had accused these entertainers of pro-Communist sympathy which was a basis of the legal suit.

Mr. ARENS. I call your attention to page 47, volume II.

On the other hand, there are shows where the employment record indicates a constant use of people associated with the leftwing.

Then you list performers such as Morris Carnovsky, Alan Manson, Lou Polan, John Randolph, Elliott Sullivan. Did you know at the time you made that presentation to the American people with tax-exempt funds that Morris Carnovsky, Alan Manson, Lou Polan, John Randolph, and Elliott Sullivan were not just associated with the leftwing, but they were identified as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. May I ask when they were, sir?

Mr. ARENS. All before the time that you wrote your report.

Mr. COGLEY. Before 1951?

Mr. ARENS. All before the time you wrote your report.

Mr. COGLEY. You see, this is a very difficult procedure—I don't know that anyone has ever done it before—to take a book that a man writes, to rip things out of context, demand an answer from him, and it is very difficult for me to explain each question I am asked.

Mr. ARENS. Let us take it in context. You wrote this language about these people being associated with the leftwing when? When did you write it?

Mr. COGLEY. I wrote this probably last summer. I can't say when I wrote this particular paragraph.

Mr. ARENS. Question No. 2 is, did you know at the time you wrote this that these people whose names I have recited to you, namely, Carnovsky, Manson, Polan, Randolph and Sullivan, had been identified under oath by live witnesses before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I may be mistaken, but I think that some of these were identified last summer, in August; is that correct?

Mr. ARENS. Did you know at the time you wrote this language that these people had been identified as Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. I think that I probably did not, because I probably wrote this in June or July. However, I don't think that affects the issue.

Mr. ARENS. If you don't know it we will drop the issue there, but let me ask you this question: If these people who have been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy were used on Broadway—

Mr. COGLEY. I am not discussing Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. I mean in New York City, in the television industry, if there was a constant use of people who were members of the Communist conspiracy in the television industry in New York City, then the blacklisting which you speak of apparently has a rather wide mesh, does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir; as you will find in my last paragraph here:

A study of casting lists, therefore, bears out the oft-repeated charge that anti-Communists had difficulties in certain quarters. The important thing distinguishing the leftwing blacklisting operation from the industrywide steps taken later, is that the former was sporadic, informal and unorganized.

I was referring, incidentally, to these people's union record which was the way I went about this, if I may explain to the committee. This was a most difficult thing. One way to go about it, I thought, was to check casting lists against people from their union, whether they were right or leftwing within the union as such, and when you would find those who consistently voted leftwing, as it is called, in the union and you did not find in these programs rightwing people as it is called in the union, I concluded that there must be some informal kind of blacklisting being carried out, but the leftwing group contains anti-Communists within the unions.

It seems a little unfair to require this out of context.

Mr. MOULDER. What page is that?

Mr. COGLEY. Page 48.

Mr. ARENS. Let us look at page 53, talking about the charges brought against certain people. "The groups who make these continuing charges are almost always alined with the extreme rightwing of American politics."

Mr. MOULDER. From what page are you reading?

Mr. ARENS. Page 53, volume II:

Their techniques are essentially the same as those employed in Red Channels—people are "listed" with the organization they allegedly joined, and some "citation" is given to show that these organizations are, or at least were, tied in with communism.

In the course of your study, did you ever find a single person who was trying to rout people from this nerve center of mass media of communication which was moving solely and exclusively out of patriotic motives, or were they all on the fanatical, irrational fringe?

Mr. COGLEY. First of all, I didn't use the words "fanatical" or "irrational."

Mr. ARENS. You said the extreme rightwing.

Mr. COGLEY. Which does not at all imply to me fanatical or irrational in any case. I don't think that there is any contradiction at all between patriotism and fanaticism. I think a man may well be fanatic about his patriotism.

I don't think there is a contradiction whatsoever. As for the sincerity of these groups or any other groups, I would not pretend to judge them.

Mr. ARENS. On page 80, volume II, you make reference to certain news commentators, radio newsmen who were deprived of livelihood or at least had obstacles in their employment activities because they were listed in Red Channels; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Some of them. Some of them didn't have any, as I point out. Some didn't have any difficulties, as I quote them as saying. Some did. Some didn't.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any reference any place to the extensive Communist-front record of those people who were alluded to on page 80, particularly William S. Gailmor, Roderick B. Holmgren, Arthur Gaeth, Johannes Steel—

Mr. COGLEY. May I direct you, sir, to page 83 of that volume, where you will find:

When Red Channels was published, Steel had the distinction, such as it was, of 34 Communist-front citations, more than any other radio commentator.

Mr. ARENS. I want to invite your attention to page 89, volume II, where we see this language. This chapter is on "clearance," clearing people who have been blacklisted.

A New York public-relations expert who has guided more than a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the "right people" explained his role this way. * * *

Then in the succeeding sentences of that page and continuing to the next page, we see the procedure followed by this public-relations expert who has guided a dozen people through the maze of blacklisting:

Somewhere along the line I may find George Sokolsky is involved. I go to him and tell him that the Legion official thinks this boy is all right. If I can convince Sokolsky, then I go to Victor Riesel, Fred Woltman (New York World-Telegram and Sun staff writer) or whoever else is involved.

When I've gotten four "affidavits" from key people like these, I go to Jack Wren at BBD and O and to the "security officer" at CBS.

Tell us, if you please, sir, who is this public-relations expert quoted in your treatise describing a kind of a clearance board to get people cleared who are blacklisted in the entertainment industry?

(At this point Representative Scherer left the hearing room.)

Mr. COGLEY. It is always difficult for a reporter to name sources that he has promised should remain confidential. I would like to

know the feeling of this committee as to whether I am expected to name sources of this kind. I will face a problem on some cases.

In some cases I have been released from promises made to persons. In others, I have not been released. I want to know if the committee will insist upon my naming all confidential sources. Could I transmit that question to the committee?

Mr. ARENS. Could you answer this one question?

Mr. MOULDER. I think the witness is entitled to know the feeling of the committee on that.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say that I do not think he ought to be required to reveal his confidential sources as a newspaperman and author, as far as I am concerned as a member of this committee.

The matter has not been discussed with me before as a member of the committee, but I agree with Mr. Moulder that this witness has asked a frank question and I want my position known at this point on that sort of question.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Frazier, do you care to express your opinion?

Mr. FRAZIER. I do not believe that he should be required to reveal confidential information.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. I fully concur in that position.

Mr. MOULDER. With the position taken by the witness?

Mr. WILLIS. With the position taken by the members.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. I am inclined to agree. I think perhaps the individual concerned might have no objection to having his identity made known, and I would suggest that the witness inquire from the individual concerned and if that is the case, give the name of the individual to the committee.

Mr. ARENS. We have a number of questions on this point irrespective of the particular identity of the individual.

Mr. WILLIS. There may be situations, if this witness were being questioned about his own activities and life and so on, where the ruling might be different.

Mr. MOULDER. In this situation the witness would be correct.

Mr. WILLIS. It is a question about the book he has written, and I think it would be well, in frankness, for him to find out and be released.

Mr. ARENS. Will the committee hold in abeyance its decision pending preliminary questions on that subject matter, because there have been some press releases issued by a certain person who has, at least in the public press, alleged to be the public-relations expert.

Mr. DOYLE. May I make this further statement? As I take this hearing, there is no inference even that this witness is subversive.

Mr. WILLIS. Of course not.

Mr. DOYLE. Nor is there any inference, and I take it there is no evidence, that there is any claim that this public-relations person is subversive. This is an investigation into subversive activities and unless there is a showing along that line, I think it is a violation of freedom of authors and of the press to go to this extent, in my judgment.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you this question?

Mr. MOULDER. I want to make my position on the record clear. I concur with Mr. Doyle in this respect.

Mr. ARENS. Is this public-relations expert who has guided more than a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the right people one person, or is it a composite of persons?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, before I answer that could I ask the chairman, the conference that was just dropped, does it have any special meaning for me or is it just the committee discussing something among themselves?

I realize that I am not putting that in very legal terms, but I am not a lawyer.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us proceed.

Mr. ARENS. Is this public-relations expert alluded to on page 89 a single person or is it a composite of persons?

Mr. COGLEY. It is a single person.

Mr. JACKSON. Before we leave this matter of any identifications, I think a distinction should be made as between a working member of a free American press respecting the sources of his information and one who compiles a work, is paid for the compilation of that work, and the work is done for a foundation which is granted certain privileges by the Federal Government from a tax standpoint.

Now, while I am not inclined to press for the disclosure of this name, I do want to be very clearly on record as making a distinction in my own mind as between a working newspaperman and someone who does a job for pay of this nature. I think there is a distinction which should be made and I make it and want to be on the record as having made it.

Mr. DOYLE. May I say that I also recognize a slight distinction, but it does not change any statement originally made.

Mr. MOULDER. Your statement was that if it has to do with subversive activities or on the subject of inquiry or investigation, then there would be an exception made and the questions should be answered.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Proceed, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that a person by the name of Arnold Forster engaged in an exchange of public statements or public releases respecting this particular section of volume II in which Mr. Forster said, in effect:

Although I do not consider myself a public-relations expert, I recognize some material attributed to such a person by the report as things which I told to an interviewer for the project who came to see me while the study was being made.

Are you cognizant of that public release?

Mr. COGLEY. I have the letter in front of me, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of it?

Mr. COGLEY. Of the letter's existence?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the fact that that was made public to the world?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did the Fund for the Republic or any of your investigators or yourself, in the course of your investigation, contact Arnold Forster for information?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did Arnold Forster say to the Fund for the Republic, in effect, that he has guided a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the right people?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did he explain his role in substantially the way it is explained on pages 89 and 90 of volume II of your report on blacklisting?

Mr. COGLEY. Mr. Forster came forth on his own with this letter. Therefore, I do not feel that I am betraying a confidence in his case.

Mr. WILLIS. I think you are right, because he seems anxious for his name to be interjected so that I think the privilege is waived.

Mr. COGLEY. He did substantially describe it this way. In fact, I have checked the notes written at the time of the interview and I find that it is almost word for word.

Mr. ARENS. Did Mr. Forster tell you, in effect, that he had to get affidavits from key people as a prerequisite to clearances?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, I should make it clear Mr. Forster was not interviewed by me. He was interviewed by one of my staff.

Mr. ARENS. We have that understanding; you or your agents.

Mr. COGLEY. You will note that the word "affidavit" is used in quotes. It was being used colloquially as is evident in the context where one of the persons who gave this affidavit says:

I won't put anything in writing but if anyone is interested, have him call me. When I went over the notes that the reporter put down, I noticed he had the word "affidavit" with quotes around it, which was written at the time that the interview was given.

Mr. ARENS. Then, in view of this additional testimony we have been developing in the course of the last few minutes, Arnold Forster is the public-relations expert alluded to on page 89; is he not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. I ask you if you can tell us if Mr. Forster revealed to you or to your associates and colleagues the dozen or more than a dozen once-blacklisted persons whom he guided through this maze of clearance which you subsequently describe in this volume?

Mr. COGLEY. I think, sir, that this particular section of the report has been distorted in the press. There was nothing considered by Mr. Forster as he explained in his letter to us, to be wrong about this situation that he had gone into. He was merely in the position of trying to help people that he considered had been unjustly accused.

Mr. ARENS. Just tell us whether or not he told you the names of the dozen or more people.

Mr. COGLEY. He didn't.

Mr. ARENS. More than a dozen people he had guided through.

Mr. COGLEY. He did not give the names of all the dozen or more than a dozen.

Mr. ARENS. Did he give you some names?

Mr. COGLEY. I understand that Mr. Forster will be here tomorrow and I wish you would ask him.

Mr. ARENS. Yes; he will be here tomorrow.

Did you confer with Mr. Forster between the time you received your subpoena to appear before this committee?

Mr. COGLEY. You mean after I received my subpoena was I in contact with Mr. Forster?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. I have not. No, sir; I have not. I have not talked to Mr. Forster since that time, since the time that I received the sub-

pena. The only time, in fact, in my life that I ever talked to Mr. Forster was when Mr. Forster decided to write this letter after an editorial appeared in the World-Telegram demanding that I name the faceless informer, as it was called, and Mr. Forster let me know that he was sending such a letter.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know that George Sokolsky, Fred Woltman, Jack Wren, all deny——

Mr. COGLEY. All deny?

Mr. ARENS. All deny that they ever constituted any kind of a clearance board?

Mr. COGLEY. I didn't know the nature of their denial. I would like to know what kind of denial has been made. If you distort and exaggerate what has been said and say this is a vicious clearance ring which it does not say, naturally you can deny the charge which wasn't true in the first place.

Mr. ARENS. Did you any time after you received your subpoena contact anyone on Forster's staff?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not contact anyone on Forster's staff.

Mr. MOULDER. We will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., the committee recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m., the same day, those present at time of recess being: Representatives Moulder, Doyle, Frazier, Willis, and Jackson.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, TUESDAY, JULY 10, 1956

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Moulder, and Jackson.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Call your witness.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly resume the stand, Mr. Cogley.

TESTIMONY OF JOHN COGLEY—Resumed

Before we proceed in the chronology I would like to pick up one or two loose ends, Mr. Cogley. This morning I was unable to find the citation quickly to a particular section in the early part of volume II to which I wanted to invite your attention. I should like to read you a paragraph from page 30 of that volume:

The people who made the phone call resulting in the Muir firing were typical of the individuals and pressure groups that are still the backbone of blacklisting. For the most part they are vocal supporters of the far rightwing of American politics. Several of them later emerged as vociferous partisans of Senator McCarthy. Though few in number, they represented the threat of a potential boycott and a controversy that could only be anathema to any corporation intent on pleasing everybody.

That is a true and correct quotation; is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any kind of poll to ascertain whether or not the individuals who have been engaged in trying to disassociate Communists and Communist-fronters from the entertainment industry were of the far rightwing of American politics?

Mr. COGLEY. I invite your attention, sir, to the fact that I am speaking here of a specific incident.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Well, in that particular incident did you make a poll? How did you ascertain that the people who were protesting

the employment of this particular artist were of the far rightwing of American politics?

Mr. COGLEY. It is difficult for me to remember the source of each statement in here, but I believe that these people were few in number and are discussed in detail in Merle Miller's book *The Judges and the Judged*.

Mr. ARENS. Is that the source of your information?

Mr. COGLEY. On that particular point; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Now I invite your attention to page 42, volume 11, when you are speaking of blacklisting in 1952:

Worst of all, the operation was carried out. for the most part, by people who were personally and privately opposed to it.

Is that a correct quotation?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. That alludes, does it not, to the disassociation from the entertainment industry of people who, in the judgment of the entertainment industry, were Communists or pro-Communists or fellow travelers; isn't that true?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't quite understand your question. Could you frame it for me again?

Mr. ARENS. This operation, of which you speak here that is being carried out, is the operation of what you have described through your book as blacklisting; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And that blacklisting encompasses the discharge or failure to employ, as the case may be, of persons who are Communists or pro-Communists or fellow travelers; does it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Let us say persons who are described in certain organs as Communists, pro-Communists, or fellow travelers.

Mr. ARENS. Yes. Is the industry, and has the industry been personally and privately opposed to discharging people who are Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. This is on the basis of interviews with persons in the industry. I would suspect on the basis of interviews that people in the industry by and large are not opposed to eliminating Communists or people they are satisfied are Communists, but they have many grave doubts about eliminating people who have been charged with pro-communism in private organs.

Mr. ARENS. These private organs about which you speak are organs which are quoting testimony and findings of congressional committees; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. In part. Part of their sources are congressional committees. Maybe not even the main burden of their sources is congressional committees. They also quote the *Daily Worker*. They quote each other. There are many sources. Congressional committees are only one.

Mr. ARENS. You will recall that just prior to the morning recess we were considering the subject of clearance as described in your treatise. I invite your attention now to page 91 of volume II.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. You had quoted a New York public relations man on the activities in which he was obliged to engage in order to secure clearance for certain people. That is correct; is it not?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. On page 91 we read this language:

Without access to the chief "clearance men" (who are often the same persons who make the damning indictment), the blacklisted artist can get nowhere. These particular men are all-important. They have the power to wound and the power to heal the wound. They can hold off rightwing criticism, which in turn cuts off pressure on sponsors or networks when a "controversial" artist is put back to work—

and so forth.

(Representative Willis entered the hearing room.)

Mr. ARENS. Tell the committee who are these chief clearance men with the power to wound and the power to heal and who are all-important. Could you enumerate them for us?

Mr. COGLEY. May I have just a moment?

Mr. ARENS. Certainly.

(The witness examining documents.)

Mr. COGLEY. I have here a letter written to Mr. Daniel T. O'Shea of the Columbia Broadcasting System by Mr. Martin Gang of the firm of Gang, Kopp & Tyre, dated October 1, 1953.

Mr. ARENS. Just a moment. How did you come in possession of that letter?

Mr. COGLEY. This particular letter?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. I am not quite sure but I think the man to whom it refers gave me a copy.

Mr. ARENS. Is Mr. Gang's letter in the same category as the information which was supplied to you by this public relations expert alluded to on page 89 or don't you feel any impediment to the disclosure of the information as you did with reference to the public relations expert alluded to on page 89 of your report?

Mr. COGLEY. I made no agreement with the man who gave me the letter.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make an agreement with the man who was the public relations expert alluded to on page 89?

Mr. COGLEY. I made an agreement that I would not in my book attribute the quote to him.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make any agreement with that man alluded to on page 89 of your book that you would not in a congressional investigation reveal his name?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not anticipate congressional investigation of the book I was about to write.

Mr. ARENS. Then tell us now precisely, in your own language, what is the distinction in your position with reference to your failure to respond to the query as to the name of the public relations man alluded to on page 89 and the information and the name of the person whom you are now about to discuss.

Mr. COGLEY. Simply a question of agreement. I did not make any such agreement with the man who is referred to in this letter. I would, sir, like to answer your last question with a quote from this letter.

Mr. ARENS. You go right ahead. I just wanted the record to be clear as to why you wouldn't tell us who this public relations expert was until we had to back up and start over and you gave us a little collateral information and why you were so willing to disclose who this man is.

Mr. COGLEY. I had made no such agreement on this question.

Mr. ARENS. Then it is a question of agreement and not a question of professional ethics, is that it?

Mr. COGLEY. It is a question of agreement that I would keep certain sources confidential. On other sources there was no such agreement.

Mr. ARENS. If you did not have an agreement that you would keep a source confidential, then are you at liberty and will you divulge the information to the committee?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is that applicable to these numerous cases identified such as "L," "M," "N," "O," and "P" in your report?

Mr. COGLEY. In some cases there was an agreement and in some cases there wasn't.

Mr. ARENS. In those cases in which you did not have an agreement with the supplier of the information you will make it available to the committee; is that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. The names of the persons?

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Now proceed with the information that you wanted to lay before the committee.

Mr. COGLEY. You asked me if I could name some of these people and I would simply quote one paragraph here:

DEAR DAN—

This is to Mr. O'Shea of the Columbia Broadcasting System—

Bill Robinson, whom I have known since the days I represented—

I think this is—

Ratcliffe & Ryan, has come in to see me about a problem which he feels is now a personal one with you. He has passed every test, including the test of a recommendation from Mr. Vincent Hartnett, who is one of the authors of Red Channels, the original listing which brought about his first problem in this field.

Mr. ARENS. Is this Earl Robinson you are talking about?

Mr. COGLEY. William N. Robinson, sir.

He has passed the Larry Johnson of Syracuse test because of the assurance given him by Ward Bond and the Motion Picture Alliance. He has been certified by Roy Brewer and I gather because of that by George Sokolsky.

I think that paragraph answers your question to some degree.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us who these clearance men are. Is George Sokolsky one of these clearance men who is all-powerful and who has the power to wound and the power to heal?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say yes; sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is Fred Woltman one of these clearance men?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say no; sir. I would say that Mr. Woltman has been consulted from time to time but he certainly does not occupy the status that Mr. Sokolsky occupies.

Mr. ARENS. Is James F. O'Neil, of the American Legion, one of these clearance men?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say that he is a very important figure; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is he a person who has the power to wound and the power to heal?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say yes; sir. Pardon me. I would say that in his official capacity that the American Legion as such has the power to.

Mr. ARENS. Is it necessary that one have access to James O'Neil before he can be cleared if he has been identified as a Communist?

Mr. COGLEY. Not necessarily, Mr. Arens. If the American Legion has made charges and the man is innocent of the charges, it may be necessary to get in touch with Mr. O'Neil to convince the American Legion to lay off.

Mr. ARENS. When you say here "Without access to the chief clearance men," do you mean all the chief clearance men or any one of the chief clearance men?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say it would depend on the individual case involved as to which of the clearance men, as the phrase is used here in quotes, it is necessary to have access to.

Mr. ARENS. Is Jack Wren of B. B. D. & O. one of these clearance men to whom it is necessary to have access before you can, you might call it, rehabilitate a person who has been identified as a Communist?

Mr. COGLEY. I would say if one wants to work at the B. B. D. & O., definitely.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any instances in mind in which James O'Neil of the American Legion brought a damning indictment against a person and got him in the category which you have described as blacklisted and thereafter healed the wound?

Mr. COGLEY. May I have a moment, sir?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. First of all I would like to make a distinction between Mr. O'Neil as a person and Mr. O'Neil in his official capacity.

Mr. ARENS. I think you have done so.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir, thank you. I would say, if I may give one example, there is the case of an actor named Luther Adler who had been charged by the American Legion. I have before me a statement put out by the District of Columbia American Legion in Washington, D. C., May 5, 1952. Quote:

Adler has been a member of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade, a Communist organization that fought in the Spanish Civil War in the 1930's and functioning as a veterans group on the American scene today.

It took Mr. Adler 4 years to convince a number of people that this statement was untrue. He did this by accounting for all his whereabouts throughout the period of the civil war in Spain. He was never in Spain during this period. This required convincing Mr. O'Neil, among others, in the American Legion of the situation. That is one example I can think of. Do you want me to give another one, sir?

Mr. ARENS. I say these are often done. Do you have another illustration with respect to Mr. O'Neil where he brought a damning indictment against a person and then healed the wound?

Mr. COGLEY. There was a case. It is difficult for me to remember these offhand, but there was a rather well-known case of a television director named Sidney Lumet who went to a great deal of trouble and his sponsor went to a great deal of trouble with various of these organizations before he was acquitted of the charges which were originally brought against him——

Mr. ARENS. No; I am asking specifically about Jim O'Neil and then we will get to somebody else. You made the assertion in this tax-exempt publication that often these clearance men bring damning indictments against people and then they go out and heal the wound.

You have given an illustration with reference to Mr. O'Neil and the Legion. Do you have another with reference to Mr. O'Neil and the Legion in which Mr. O'Neil brought a damning indictment against someone and then had to come out and heal the wound?

Mr. COGLEY. Again I would like to make the distinction between Mr. O'Neil as a person and Mr. O'Neil as an official of the American Legion.

Mr. ARENS. You didn't make that distinction in your publication, though, did you?

Mr. COGLEY. No, as far as the damning indictment goes.

Mr. ARENS. Then let us drop Mr. O'Neil for the moment and take one of the other top clearance men where you won't have to make any distinction even on this record.

Mr. MOULDER. The witness started to answer the question and said he would like to make a distinction and I would like to hear it.

Mr. COGLEY. I said the damning indictment is not brought by Mr. O'Neil personally. It is brought by the American Legion.

Mr. MOULDER. That is the distinction you wish to make?

Mr. COGLEY. That is the distinction, that Mr. O'Neil doesn't accuse anybody as Mr. O'Neil but as part of the American Legion.

Mr. ARENS. This language in the report that the people or the person who brings the damning indictment is often the same person who does all the healing isn't quite accurate, is it, at least so far as applicable to Mr. O'Neil and the American Legion?

Mr. COGLEY. If the person operates as an individual, as Mr. Vincent Hartnett does, this is quite accurate. If the person is an official of an organization like the American Legion, the indictment is brought by the organization.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us of any instances in your mind in which Mr. George Sokolsky brought a damning indictment against someone and caused him to be blacklisted and then healed the wound.

Mr. COGLEY. I can't give you an example of Mr. Sokolsky bringing a damning indictment. I would call your attention to the fact that I say here "Who are often the same persons," not always the same persons, who make the damning indictment.

Mr. ARENS. Just give us an illustration there. You have given us two illustrations. Now give us another one in which any of these clearance men, as you call them, or their organizations, have brought damning indictments against people and then heal the wound.

Mr. COGLEY. I would have to refer to the publications that they put out to give you an example. I can discuss the case—

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps I can invite your attention to one on page 214, volume II.

Mr. COGLEY. I can discuss the case of Mr. Lunet in some detail if you would like me to.

Mr. ARENS. Let us try the case on page 214 of Mr. Jack Gilford. In the first paragraph you recite the sad case of Jack Gilford, a comedian, saying that a protest had been unleashed against Jack Gilford. Isn't that correct? That is the essence of what you say there.

Mr. MOULDER. Mr. Chairman, I see no reference to a sad case on that page. Is there such a quotation, a sad case?

Mr. COGLEY. I don't think, sir; I used the words "first case."

Mr. ARENS. Was it a sad case?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. Counsel has been referring to all of them that way.

Mr. ARENS. You say on page 214 that—

Gilford had been "listed" in Red Channels and the Legionnaires demanded that the Metropolitan fire him.

Mr. COGLEY. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't that what you say?

Mr. COGLEY. That is a matter of fact; yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you tell your readers that listing in Red Channels was of a man who had Communist-front affiliation of dozens of activities on behalf of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I presumed that if you mentioned he was listed in Red Channels and they wanted to find out what was on the list, they would refer back to Red Channels.

Mr. ARENS. Isn't it a fair implication of your observation that Jack Gilford was the victim of a protest which was unleashed simply because of a listing in Red Channels?

Mr. COGLEY. I would put it this way, sir: Jack Gilford would not be known to the people who unleashed the protest if it were not Red Channels. His record was not that well known.

Mr. ARENS. Did you check with the Onondaga County Post of the American Legion to ascertain whether or not that protest of the appearance of Jack Gilford was based upon the appearance of Jack Gilford's name in Red Channels or whether or not it was based upon a long and notorious record of service to the Communist cause through many, many Communist fronts and activities?

Mr. COGLEY. All efforts to contact any of the groups in Syracuse on our part were rejected by those groups. They did not want to discuss with us.

Mr. ARENS. Did you check with the House Committee on Un-American Activities or any other governmental agency to ascertain whether or not Jack Gilford had been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not check with the—first of all, if I were discussing Jack Gilford's Communist record I would have done this. I am discussing here a case of—you will notice the first words in this paragraph are "The first case," so it refers back to cases. It says here that there were two cases that I can refer to outside New York where considerable pressure was brought to bear outside the New York theater. I am not essentially discussing Mr. Gilford here. It is again the problem, sir—

Mr. ARENS. You are discussing, are you not, a process and a procedure and a system and an attack against people who have been identified publicly as part and parcel of the Communist operation?

Mr. COGLEY. It is very difficult for me to put all this in context in the brief time I am given, but I will try it here. What I am discussing here is how important the New York element is in explaining the absence of blacklisting in the theater, which can be seen from the experiences plays have had on the road. This is the essence here. It does not seem to me this is the time to go into Jack Gilford's record except to say that he is listed in Red Channels.

Mr. ARENS. Did you not think it was important to go further and say that that listing in Red Channels, which precipitated this so-called

violent protest against his appearance, was a listing embracing a series of many years of services to the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I think I am again at the same situation I was in earlier. I wrote the book as I saw fit to write the book. I did not know how you wanted me to write the book nor anyone else did. I wrote it as I saw fit to write it.

Mr. ARENS. On page 173 of volume II of your report you begin a series of blacklisting experiences.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The first one is about a leading actress, a "Miss H"; isn't that correct.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Miss H, Uta Hagen?

Mr. COGLEY. Miss H, Uta "Hoggen," I believe she pronounces her name, had no objections to our using her name, so I will agree; yes, it is Miss Hagen.

Mr. ARENS. On pages 173 and 174 you tell that—

Miss H was listed in Red Channels, and protests began to come in from Syracuse immediately after it was announced she would star on this program.

Isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The fair implication of that language is that the protests stemmed from a listing in Red Channels; isn't that correct?

Mr. COGLEY. The knowledge upon which the protest was based was due to the fact that the listing was published in Red Channels about Miss Hagen.

Mr. ARENS. Did you not think it essential to point out to your readers that the listing in Red Channels of Uta Hagen included a designation or recitation of one of the longest Communist-front records of any person in the United States?

Mr. COGLEY. I saw fit to point out to my readers that Miss H wrote the executive producer of the program:

"I understand that some question has been raised as to my loyalty to the United States, and I desire to inform you categorically that I am not now nor have I ever been a member of the Communist Party, nor am I now in sympathy with Communist objectives."

I also saw fit to tell my readers that—

it was announced that Miss H was going to be called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities. She was subpoenaed but her testimony was delayed and she never did appear. The committee offered no explanation. Variety referred to the incident as a "current Capitol Hill mystery."

Mr. ARENS. You state that Miss H was listed in Red Channels and protests began to come in from Syracuse immediately. Do you mean to imply that the protests were stimulated solely and exclusively from the listing in Red Channels, or is there a possibility that the protest may have been stimulated by a knowledge derived from some other source?

Mr. COGLEY. It is quite unlikely, it seems to me, at this particular time that the facts, if they were facts, about Miss Hagen which were published in Red Channels would be available to these people except for Red Channels. It is very possible that some other similar publication had published these listings, I don't know, but there is a definite relationship in time between the publication of Red Channels and the pressure against Miss Hagen.

Mr. ARENS. Now I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to page 215, volume II. You open the paragraph by saying:

One result of blacklisting was the growth of the off-Broadway theater. Top talent became available at off-Broadway prices. In recent years, it has been possible to see well-known performers like Morris Carnovsky, Sono Osato, Jack Gilford, and Will Geer. * * *

Mr. COGLEY. In the little theaters, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In the little theaters. Then on down you speak of "Sandhog," which is apparently a play produced by Waldo Salt and Earl Robinson. Do you know that Morris Carnovsky and Jack Gilford and Will Geer and Waldo Salt and Earl Robinson have all been identified before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir. I don't know in each case. I know in some cases. I recognize certain names.

Mr. ARENS. Is it fair to appraise the situation that you are describing of blacklisting that it apparently isn't 100 percent effective on Broadway?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, if you would read the paragraph again, I am discussing the fact that the growth of the off-Broadway theater has had a relationship to blacklisting. I say in a part that you did not read:

More often than not, their shows have been nonpolitical, although some "social" drama has been produced.

I add that a writer in the Communist Masses and Mainstream—was quite critical of some aspects of this off-Broadway development, particularly of the failure of "social drama" to dominate.

He wrote:

In the off-Broadway movement the potentially large progressive audience is yet to do its part.

I am discussing here not the records of these particular people but the relationship between the off-Broadway theater and the blacklisting phenomenon. Again I must say that I had to write the book as I saw fit to write it and to discuss the subjects as I saw fit.

Mr. ARENS. But the fact that these people who have been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy are presently engaged on Broadway or were engaged on Broadway at the time you wrote the book compels the conclusion, does it not, that blacklisting as you describe it on Broadway is not 100 percent effective?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, first of all I would like to point out that I was talking about off-Broadway, which does not mean Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. I mean in New York City, in the legitimate theater.

Mr. COGLEY. Then I would refer you to page 210, volume II, the first sentence of the chapter called Blacklisting and Broadway:

There is no organized blacklisting on Broadway. * * * But there are no "lists" which have universal force on Broadway. There are no "security officers." There are no "clearance" systems.

This is a matter of fact.

Mr. ARENS. Then let us continue with that theme from page 211:

In August 1955, the House Committee on Un-American Activities held hearings on communism in the Broadway theater. Twenty-three witnesses were called, and 22 of them turned out to be "unfriendly," invoking the 1st, 4th, 5th, 6th, 8th, 9th, 10th, and 14th amendments to the Constitution. In Hollywood or on Madison Avenue, actors that are "unfriendly" could expect not to work again

until such time as they "cleared" themselves. But the Broadway performers who refused to cooperate with the Walter committee simply went back to work. In one case, an actor who had invoked the fifth amendment had his contract torn up, and was given a new one at higher pay and for a longer period of time. The actor was not being rewarded for his "unfriendliness," he was being rewarded for his professional ability. And it is ability that still counts on Broadway.

Do you mean to say that on Broadway the question of whether or not a particular individual is part and parcel of a conspiracy designed to overthrow this Government by force and violence does not count?

Mr. COGLEY. All I know is that the actors who took the fifth amendment and did not cooperate with this committee did not lose their jobs.

Mr. ARENS. Then what do you mean here when you say, "And it is ability that still counts on Broadway"?

Mr. COGLEY. I gather if they did not lose their jobs, they must be being judged by some other standard than the standard of whether or not they took the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Let's see whether or not they were being judged by the standard of identification of those people as members of the conspiracy.

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, I am stating a fact. I have nothing to do with how Broadway acts or doesn't act. This is just simply the fact that I found. So please do not ask me to explain Broadway's actions.

Mr. ARENS. When you say that it is talent or ability that still counts on Broadway, do you mean to exclude the possibility that Broadway is concerned with the loyalty or patriotism of people who are on Broadway?

Mr. COGLEY. Let me put it this way: I know only that people who have not cooperated with this committee have gone back to work on Broadway. I take it the reasoning behind it is that they are being judged solely on their ability as actors and not on their cooperation or noncooperation with this committee.

Mr. ARENS. Are they being judged to any degree upon the extent to which they may be part and parcel of a treasonable apparatus?

Mr. COGLEY. If they were being judged on that basis I take it they would not go back to work.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the findings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities as a result of the hearings in the entertainment field which were held in August 1955?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you cognizant of the findings which read as follows:

Communists have been successful in finding employment in the New York entertainment field. The Communist-supported propaganda campaign against blacklisting has completely falsified the true hiring policies applying to entertainers.

Did your study and investigation lead you to the same findings as the House committee on this subject?

Mr. COGLEY. I wish you could spell out that finding in more precise terms than stated there. Maybe I could answer it better.

Mr. ARENS. Did your study and investigation lead you to ascertain and did you ascertain whether or not Communists are active in propagandizing on behalf of the Communist conspiracy on Broadway in the entertainment industry?

Mr. COGLEY. You mean through plays?

Mr. ARENS. Yes, sir.

Mr. COGLEY. No; I did not find any Communist propaganda in plays on Broadway.

Mr. ARENS. Did you find that radio and television networks continue to use the talents of Communist Party members because of inadequate information and investigative facilities?

Mr. COGLEY. I found that radio and television networks make every effort not to use Communists, and I know of no Communist, at least persons who have been identified before this and other committees as Communists, who are working in radio and television who have not come before the committee and cooperated.

Mr. ARENS. Have you found that the major networks do have a policy of not hiring entertainers who have been identified under oath as Communist Party members or who have themselves appeared under oath and refused to answer questions regarding party membership?

Mr. COGLEY. I think that is what I just said.

The CHAIRMAN. If these 22 Communists who invoked various amendments to the Constitution at our hearings didn't lose their positions and had contracts renewed, some at higher prices, what does the blacklist mean?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, I am discussing here blacklisting and Broadway and conclude that there is no organized blacklisting on Broadway, which is the first sentence of the chapter.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, is it your finding that on Broadway people who have been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy, under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities or some other Government agency, are nevertheless employed in the industry irrespective of that identification?

Mr. COGLEY. I think, sir, when we began this exchange you read from the section here which says that the people who appeared here last summer before the committee simply went back to work.

Mr. ARENS. Yes.

Mr. COGLEY. This is a matter of fact, I think.

Mr. ARENS. I am just asking you on the basis of your study and investigation whether or not it is a fair statement that people who have been identified as Communists, as members of the conspiracy, are nevertheless freely engaging in professional activities in the entertainment industry on Broadway?

Mr. COGLEY. I can't recall the circumstances, but if you say that the 22 witnesses who were called last summer were identified as Communists, they were. Is that correct?

Mr. ARENS. And are they continuing in their employment?

Mr. COGLEY. At least 1 or 2 of them were in Broadway plays and if you will note, there was no notice in the newspapers that they had been fired or anything else.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions?

Mr. MOULDER. I have just one question.

I have forgotten whether or not you have been accorded the opportunity or have made any explanation as to any preliminary discussion you had with your employers in connection with the writing of this report on blacklisting.

Mr. COGLEY. I think earlier this morning we discussed this. I will be glad to answer any specific questions that you might want to ask.

Mr. ARENS. Specifically on that, did you know or did you discuss with your employer the employment of Elizabeth Poe?

Mr. COGLEY. I did not discuss the people I chose for the project with my employers until they were hired, so I could make arrangements for them to get paid through the office. Even then I did not discuss it with the officers, but merely with the people who handled the financial arrangements for the Fund.

Mr. ARENS. Did you know prior to the time that Elizabeth Poe began to work with you, as did your other colleagues, Miss Jahoda and others—did you know that Elizabeth Poe had been the author of articles vigorously attacking what she called the purge of people in the motion-picture industry because of political affiliation or association?

Mr. COGLEY. I knew that she had written the article that you have before you. I didn't know of any others.

Mr. ARENS. Is the tenor of this article which appeared in the Frontier one of strong aspersion cast upon the techniques of discharging people who have been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. COGLEY. I haven't read that article for some 18 months. I don't remember exactly what it said.

Mr. ARENS. It certainly isn't complimentary to the device of discharging people who have been members of the Communist conspiracy, is it?

Mr. COGLEY. As I remember, it is not. Again I say I haven't read it for 18 months.

Mr. MOULDER. Pursuing the point I was making, do you have any knowledge or information as to what inspired the Fund for the Republic or caused it to proceed in employing you and others to write a report on blacklisting? Do you have any knowledge or information on that subject or on that question?

Mr. COGLEY. I cannot speak officially for the Fund. I can only speak for my own knowledge of the Fund. But I believe that when the Fund was organized blacklisting by private groups was put down as one of the subjects in which the Fund would be interested. I also since this have checked the project as it was approved by the board of directors of the Fund, which was before I came into the picture, as I explained this morning. The project was approved by the board of directors of the Fund for the Republic without a director (sic) on September 15, 1954, as part of the original charter, among other things, to investigate blacklisting by private groups.

Mr. MOULDER. With what official of the Fund for the Republic did you confer in connection with the work which you were to perform?

Mr. COGLEY. I conferred with the president and the vice president of the Fund for the Republic, who got in touch with me and asked me if I would be interested in doing this job.

Mr. MOULDER. Did they discuss with you in detail what your work would be and what the objectives would be of the work; that is, the purpose of it, and so on? That is the point I am trying to get at.

Mr. COGLEY. I was told this at this time, as I can recall the conversation which was a year and a half ago: That this was a subject which little was known about as far as the public went, that it should be debated in public, that a great deal of mystery surrounded it, that there were charges and countercharges, that I should do nothing but get the facts on the situation as I saw it; in getting the facts, that I could pick a staff and the Fund would see that this staff was paid, that

the Fund would not interfere in any way with what I found and if the Fund decided to publish the findings there would be no changes made whatsoever except such changes as might be technically necessary because of size or something, but even I could make those changes.

Mr. MOULDER. As I understand it, the object of the project was to ascertain and report the facts.

Mr. COGLEY. That is right.

Mr. MOULDER. Not taking a position of condemnation or defense in either respect?

Mr. COGLEY. That is right; yes, sir. In the original approval I noted that the board of directors said they hoped the thing would inform rather than inflame.

Mr. MOULDER. Was that the way you were so instructed?

Mr. COGLEY. That is right; yes, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. I have no further questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle.

Mr. DOYLE. I would suggest this, Mr. Chairman: The witness this morning, without counsel, underwent a very thorough and able examination by our distinguished counsel for 2 hours and now for 45 minutes this afternoon. I noticed from time to time this morning—and I made 16 pages of notes for my own guidance—the witness seemed to me to start to make some further answer or to add something and through lack of time I am under the impression that the witness may have not fully answered or explained a few points.

I think the witness ought to be given this opportunity. I want to ask him a question: Do you have any statement or any explanation of any sort that you wish to make of any of your answers by way of elaboration? Do you have a statement you wish to make about this report, or about any of your answers to our counsel?

I think, Mr. Chairman, if he does he ought to be given that opportunity.

The CHAIRMAN. Every witness is given that opportunity.

Mr. DOYLE. I am making it an express point that I think this witness ought to be given that opportunity now and he ought to be given all the time necessary to make it.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course, before the inquiry closes I will afford him that opportunity just as other witnesses appearing before this committee have been given that opportunity.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course, you were necessarily busy with other committees most of the time during this hearing and didn't have the benefit of hearing all of his testimony.

The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything further you wish to say, Mr. Cogley?

Mr. COGLEY. I can think of nothing further. Perhaps at the time I thought of something but right now I have lost sight of some of the questions I was asked. I can think of nothing that I want to add right now. I would like to know, if I may, why I was called.

The CHAIRMAN. Because we have been very much interested in this particular question and when your report was filed we were disappointed, at least I was, that you didn't discuss the failure of people who cooperated with congressional committees to obtain employment.

Mr. COGLEY. I am sorry, sir—

The CHAIRMAN. We have a great deal of information, you can well imagine, from people indicating that such a practice exists. Immediately after the hearings this morning I received maybe over 20 letters from people protesting that because they or their friends or someone they knew who had cooperated had lost their jobs or were unable to obtain employment. This is a question in which our committee has been deeply interested for a long while. We called you for the purpose of ascertaining what your sources were in order to determine whether or not your conclusions were the conclusions that we would have reached had we embarked on this sort of project.

We were hoping that you would tell us who these people were in order to determine whether or not they were denied employment because they were Communists or were denied employment because somebody said they were Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, if I may answer, I think I did touch at some length on this whole question of cooperative witnesses losing employment possibilities, especially in the movie version of this two-volume report. It is not something that I neglected. In answer to your second question, I think that undoubtedly some of the persons who have faced difficulties in employment have been, I should say, at least been named as Communists before the committee and have purged their record. I think it is also true that in many cases people who have not been named as Communists but merely have had listings of front groups and so forth, some of them extending back many years, have had many grave difficulties in finding employment. Sometimes they have been cleared. Some of them have lost years of work and have been set back in their careers, and so on. I would not attempt to repeat the whole two volumes all over again.

The CHAIRMAN. In assembling your staff, how did you expect to get an objective viewpoint when the views of all of the employees on the staff are fairly well known and are all in one direction, I might add.

Mr. COGLEY. I wonder if I might expand just slightly on some of the people and the difference between the people involved on the staff.

One lady interviewer was recommended to me by the movie columnist of the New York Times. Another girl was a girl who had worked for Time, Inc., for some 7 years and had taken a short stay in a convent to become a nun and had decided that this was not her vocation and she came direct from a cloistered convent to the staff.

A third person was a labor journalist. One was an editor of Fortune. I think there was quite a variety in that staff.

Mr. MOULDER. I have 1 or 2 more questions, Mr. Chairman.

Is it true that you employed some of those persons, 1 or 2 who were mentioned, as having maybe been associated with Communist-front organizations?

Mr. COGLEY. Pardon, sir.

Mr. MOULDER. I believe our interrogation through counsel has brought out that some of those on your staff may have been associated with Communist-front organizations.

Mr. COGLEY. I think Mr. Arens will agree that he didn't mention any Communist-front organizations, did you, sir, in reference to anybody on our staff?

Mr. ARENS. The Labor Youth League is not only a Communist-front organization, it is controlled by the Communist Party.

Mr. COGLEY. The Labor Youth League, sir? Who did you say belongs to that?

Mr. ARENS. You told us in an opening statement with reference to Mr. Paul Jacobs, a former member of the Labor Youth League; Michael Harrington, a Socialist; Marie Jahoda, a Socialist; Elizabeth Poe, who had vigorously attacked—

Mr. COGLEY. The Congressman asked me about Communist fronts. First of all, I think Mr. Jacobs, who is a rather famous anti-Communist, had not belonged to any of these organizations for some twenty-odd years. You are going back 20 years on Mr. Jacobs, is that not true, sir?

Mr. ARENS. You are the one who said he was a member of the Labor Youth League.

Mr. COGLEY. I added 20 years earlier. In the second case—Mr. Harrington you referred to as a Socialist. I don't think you can refer to it as a Communist front because the group that you refer to is vigorously anti-Communist.

Mr. ARENS. You, of course, are aware of the fact that Lenin, the key philosopher of communism, has said socialism is only one transition toward communism.

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. And Socialists are only people who are conducting the transition from democracy to communism.

Mr. MOULDER. To develop the point, such persons probably had extensive knowledge on the subject on which you were trying to make a report, is that so?

Mr. COGLEY. Some of the persons had different kinds of specialties. Some were trained researchers, those who had worked for the Luce organization. The particular one who was suggested by the critic of the Times was familiar with the theatrical world. I can't explain why each person, but there were a certain number of qualifications for each person.

Mr. MOULDER. Sometimes a congressional committee may employ some person who may have knowledge and information, who may not agree with us in philosophy. Did they have the opportunity to express their viewpoint in this report, that is, to slant it along lines in harmony with their feeling?

Mr. COGLEY. I assigned each of these persons an area. They checked against each other. Each of them submitted a report to me and out of the reports they submitted to me I wrote this report on the basis of my own judgment.

Mr. MOULDER. There is one subject in your report and also in your testimony which is a sort of revelation to me. Did you find in your investigation and in this work that there are people who specialize in what you refer to as "clearances" and receive fees for their work, who receive compensation for clearing someone for employment?

Mr. COGLEY. This word "clearance" is always a very difficult word. There are at least, I would say, two organizations which supply information—

Mr. MOULDER. They supply the information?

Mr. COGLEY. They are formally in the business of supplying background information on potential clients and potential employees.

Mr. MOULDER. Let us take, for example, the people who are responsible for the publication of Red Channels. Did you find out whether or not they ever received any fees or compensation for clearing someone after they had been referred to in their publication?

Mr. COGLEY. No. I heard very often rumors that clearances were sold. I found no evidence that clearances were sold or that one could buy a clearance. I did find a few cases where a public-relations man would use his influence to clear up a situation and he was sometimes paid a public-relations man's fee. But I found no evidence at all that any group was selling clearances, as the phrase goes.

Mr. MOULDER. The way I received the information was that someone would be responsible for the condemnation or the blacklisting and then later on would attempt to clear them by receiving fees and compensation for doing it, which would amount to blackmail or indirectly could be in the field of blackmail.

Mr. COGLEY. I know that there have been cases of people who—I have heard of cases of people who have sold their services as speech writers, for instance, to write a speech or help a man write a speech which would express his anti-Communist feelings so that he could now get it on the public record that he was anti-Communist, but no direct clearance operation.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand the import of your answer to Mr. Moulder to mean that public-relations experts were paid fees for, what you say, clearing up situations where citizens had been named before this committee as Communists or members of Communist fronts? Did it go to that extent?

Mr. COGLEY. Sir, I would like to add, just because of the use of the words "public-relations expert," since that is the term that was used to refer to the gentleman quoted here, I am not speaking of him or anything like him. But I have learned that sometimes an elaborate kind of explanation is required and that people have been paid for writing speeches or for some other kind of public-relations services to artists who have had to clarify their records or to clear up their records. There have been cases where a man would come in and use his good offices to help a firm that was in difficulty and then the firm might pay him a sum as a token of its gratitude.

Mr. DOYLE. A firm in what difficulty? On the question of communism affiliation?

Mr. COGLEY. Take a case where a firm was sponsoring a television show and someone on the show was accused of being pro-Communist. The person, let us say, was not pro-Communist. This required a certain amount of clearing up and convincing the people who were publishing the charges that he was pro-Communist, that he was not pro-Communist.

In a case like this after someone came in who had access to the people who were publishing the charges, it has been known for the firm to give a sum as a token of its gratitude for the work that was done.

Mr. DOYLE. You mentioned in answer to counsel that you had made a mimeographed report which you submitted to the officers of the Fund?

Mr. COGLEY. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. What changes, if any, were made between that copy and the published copy?

Mr. COGLEY. The only changes that were made were made by me, first on my own judgment, changes in words and choice of new words. Second, it was to try to cut it down somewhat. The third change was, after consultation with a libel lawyer, other changes were made.

Mr. DOYLE. One more question: Did you say that the time of the study and the preparation of this report entailed about 18 months?

Mr. COGLEY. No, sir. I said it is 18 months since I read that article. It took only about a year in all.

Mr. DOYLE. During that time I think the personnel of your staff was generally known, was it not, and publicized?

Mr. COGLEY. It was publicized; yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. From the time you selected the staff until you corrected this report did you receive complaints of any kind from any organization or publication on account of your having chosen any person for your staff on the ground that they were Communists or pro-Communists?

Mr. COGLEY. None that I can recall. Certainly personally I received none. There might have been some that I don't know anything about, but I don't recall any.

Mr. DOYLE. I think that is all, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I think supplementing what the chairman said, of course we are attempting to determine here several things. First of all, does a blacklist exist and, secondly, to what extent are private individuals as distinguished from official Government agencies developing information in this particular area. I must confess I have not had an opportunity to read the two volumes of this report. However, from what I have read and from what I have gathered during the interrogation it certainly would not qualify with me as being an objective study.

I would like to go back just a moment to the matter of what constitutes a blacklist and pose a couple of hypothetical questions and see if indeed we are talking about the same thing by blacklist.

Let us assume that an individual who is very badly disfigured goes in to a prominent restaurant and asks for employment as a waiter. Does refusal to grant employment to this individual on purely economic grounds constitute a blacklist in your opinion?

Mr. COGLEY. Of that person?

Mr. JACKSON. Of that person.

Mr. COGLEY. We get into semantic difficulties here, but I would say that the person cannot work in this restaurant and the only word I know to describe that situation is that he is "blacklisted" at that restaurant.

Mr. JACKSON. I think that is where we have some difference of opinion. After all, entertainment, Mr. Chairman, is a commodity. It is a commodity that depends on several things—first, the quality of the entertainment; secondly, the public acceptance of the entertainment. It has long been my opinion that if there is any blacklist involved here it is in large part a blacklist which has been imposed by the American public, to whom communism and Communists are anathema and repugnant. That is especially true following the action of the Congress of the United States in passing the Communist Con-

trol Act of 1954, placing the structure of the Communist Party outside the law. There is a blacklist which neither this committee nor any private organization can do anything about. That is a blacklist imposed by the American people itself. I don't think that that aspect of the blacklist has been investigated to the extent that it would appear necessary.

For instance, I cannot see, speaking as an individual, Mr. Chairman, why any producer in the entertainment field should be required to employ or reemploy any individual who has come before a committee of the Congress or a duly constituted agency of the United States Government and failed to state without equivocation that he is or is not a member of the Communist Party. It follows from that refusal to state that the American people are simply not going to accept the services of that individual in the entertainment field.

Mr. MOULDER. I think he covered that in his report. I read some statements along that line.

Mr. JACKSON. If a man is seen leaving the scene of a fire carrying a kerosene can and the arson squad leader finds the fire was set by kerosene and then the man refuses to disclose any of his activities with reference to where he was or what he was doing at the time the fire started, he is certainly under an onus. I think that onus extends to those who are in entertainment or in labor or in any other walk of American life.

I realize we have just scratched the surface of this question of blacklisting. I think it is a thing that the committee should go into. I think from the standpoint of the Fund, from the standpoint of the committee, from the standpoint of everybody involved in this, we should have a thorough airing of the matter of blacklisting.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee stands adjourned, to meet tomorrow morning at 10 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 3:20 p. m., Tuesday, July 10, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Wednesday, July 11, 1956.)

INVESTIGATION OF SO-CALLED "BLACKLISTING" IN ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY—REPORT OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.—PART 1

WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 1956

UNITED STATES HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,
COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES,
Washington, D. C.

PUBLIC HEARING

The Committee on Un-American Activities convened, pursuant to adjournment, at 10:35 a. m., in the caucus room, Old House Office Building, Hon. Francis E. Walter (chairman) presiding.

Committee members present: Representatives Francis E. Walter, of Pennsylvania; Clyde Doyle, of California; James B. Frazier, Jr., of Tennessee; Edwin E. Willis, of Louisiana; Harold H. Velde, of Illinois; Bernard W. Kearney, of New York; Donald L. Jackson, of California; and Gordon H. Scherer, of Ohio.

Staff members present: Richard Arens, director; and K. Baarslag.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will come to order.

Call your first witness, please, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Arnold Forster, please come forward.

The CHAIRMAN. Will you raise your right hand? Do you solemnly swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. FORSTER. I do, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. I do not want you to think that we have been discourteous this morning, but you know the mutual-aid bill is up on the floor of the House.

Mr. FORSTER. I know that, sir.

TESTIMONY OF ARNOLD FORSTER, ACCOMPANIED BY COUNSEL, HENRY EDWARD SCHULTZ

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. FORSTER. My name is Arnold Forster, and I reside at 79 Wykagyl, in New Rochelle, N. Y., and I am the general counsel for the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and I have been in the employ of that agency for more than 16 years.

Mr. ARENS. Are you appearing today, Mr. Forster, in response to a subpoena which was served upon you by the House Committee on Un-American Activities?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Are you represented by counsel?

Mr. FORSTER. Alongside of me sits Henry Edward Schultz, the national chairman of the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, and for the purposes of this session, my counsel.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Schultz, would you further identify yourself a little clearer for this record?

Mr. SCHULTZ. I will be glad to. I am a lawyer, and as Mr. Forster has indicated, national chairman of the league, and today I am here in the capacity of his counsel. My offices are at 205 East 42d Street, New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Forster. I invite your attention, if you please, sir, to the publication, Report on Blacklisting, volume II, Radio-Television, page 89, in which appears, among other things, this language. It begins in this third paragraph:

A New York public-relations expert, who has guided more than a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the "right people," explained his role this way.

I ask you now if you are the public-relations expert alluded to on page 89 of this volume?

Mr. FORSTER. Well, I will be glad to try to answer that question, Mr. Arens. A year or so ago, I was visited by an interviewer for the Cogley project, probably one of several hundred persons so interviewed. We met on several occasions, and we talked informally for a number of hours.

Mr. ARENS. Could I interpose this question: Could you tell us who that person was?

Mr. FORSTER. His name was Engberg.

Mr. ARENS. Do you know his first name?

Mr. FORSTER. Edwin or Edward.

Mr. ARENS. Edward, was it not? I see "Edward" listed in this.

Mr. FORSTER. Then I would assume that is his first name.

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly proceed.

Mr. FORSTER. I said we met on several occasions, and we talked informally. I made no notes of our conversations. I did not consider that I was making any statements for the record. Rather, I was trying in a general way to furnish the interviewer with a picture of the efforts of the Anti-Defamation League, to help artists and others in the entertainment industry who had come to us for assistance in going back to work.

In none of my conversations with the interviewer did I authorize him to use any of my off-the-cuff answers as direct quotations.

I never saw this Cogley report or any part of it in any form whatsoever until a day or two after the printed text was released, a week or so ago. From the day the research project began until the day the resulting report was released to the press, I never met Mr. Cogley, and I never talked to Mr. Cogley, and I did not know Mr. Cogley. When the quoted material on pages 89, 90, and 91 to which you referred was first read to me a week or so ago on the telephone, it was my first contact with it. I was under the impression that these were not my words.

Mr. ARENS. Who read these words to you?

Mr. FORSTER. Mr. Jack Wren, of B. B. D. & O., an advertising agency in New York City.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, please.

Mr. FORSTER. The man allegedly being quoted on these pages was described as a public-relations expert, which is not a description that I would choose as accurate for my work. It was my opinion at the time that the quoted material was a composite of the views and statements of a number of people who had had some experience in this field.

Mr. ARENS. How did you arrive at the conclusion or entertain the thought that the public-relations expert alluded to on page 89 of this report was a composite, how did you surmise that?

Mr. FORSTER. I am going on to say that, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Go right ahead, if you have prepared material. Then I will interrogate you.

Mr. FORSTER. I must say this: Having learned that Mr. Cogley's testimony yesterday resulted in my being directly quoted on extemporaneous statements, I got kind of tired of that idea, and I thought since I could anticipate at least this question that I would have prepared a precise and brief answer. For that reason, I have written this.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest that since your answer is precise and brief, you read it.

Mr. FORSTER. I believe the quoted material to be a device by the author of the report to symbolize the views of men who have become involved in helping to clear or rehabilitate people who had suffered unwarranted economic reprisal. Yesterday John Cogley, the author of the report, testified that the quoted material is not a composite but are my words to one of his assistants. He may well be right.

I talked with the interviewer for a very long time. All of the things stated in quotes could easily have been said by me in substance. My concern with the quoted material, however, is that it is far from complete.

Mr. ARENS. Does that complete your observations as of the moment?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. May I then ask you please, sir, a number of precise questions with reference to it? How are you designated within the organization which you serve?

Mr. FORSTER. My official title is general counsel to the Anti-Defamation League and the director of civil rights.

Mr. ARENS. Is there a person in the Anti-Defamation League who bears the title or description of public-relations expert?

Mr. FORSTER. I do not think so, sir, and we may have a department. We have many departments and one is known as the public relations department, but I do not know that anyone is designated as a public-relations expert.

Mr. ARENS. To your knowledge, was anyone else in the Anti-Defamation League interviewed by representatives of Mr. Cogley to solicit information such as the information which they solicited from you?

Mr. FORSTER. I do not think so, sir.

Mr. ARENS. In other words, it is your opinion, is it, that you are the only person in the Anti-Defamation League organization who could possibly have been interviewed to procure information recited here in this report?

Mr. FORSTER. Mr. Arens, I could not be sure of that. I may have introduced Mr. Engberg to someone on the staff who came in, and he may have asked him his position with respect to so-called blacklisting, as he had asked me my position with respect to blacklisting.

Mr. ARENS. Did you, or have you guided more than a dozen once blacklisted persons or performers to the right people?

Mr. FORSTER. I have searched my memory for days now and I may be incorrect, but I could recall probably eight people who had come

to the Anti-Defamation League to help rehabilitate themselves whom we tried to help.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have a recollection of the names of those eight people whom you helped?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes; the 7 or 8 who come to my mind, I have a recollection of who they are.

Mr. ARENS. Had those persons been identified under oath as members of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORSTER. Well, I would have to explain that at length, sir, if I may. The Anti-Defamation League helped no person who at any time pleaded the fifth amendment. The Anti-Defamation League at no time agreed to assist anyone who refused our primary suggestion, which was that if there was some comments or some testimony before this committee or some other place with respect to the bona fides of that person, that he voluntarily immediately communicate with the FBI and ask for an appointment and offer to answer any and all questions about himself that the Government might be interested in.

In some cases, where a person himself came to us and said that they thought their problem was a listing in the records of this committee, our immediate proposal was, and the solution to their problem is, to communicate with this committee and offer themselves forthwith to testify with respect to any questions that this committee might have.

I might add, sir, that in none of those cases in which the Anti-Defamation League sought to help these people, did they refuse to do that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you make the statement to Mr. Cogley, or to his interviewer, that you had guided more than a dozen once blacklisted performers to it, and I emphasize now these next two words, to the "right people"?

Mr. FORSTER. I have searched and searched my memory, and these conversations occurred more than a year ago. I recognize some of the things in here as things that I said. Whether or not I used the number "a dozen or so," I have no recollection. I can only be confronted with Mr. Cogley's testimony that the man who interviewed me made notes, and if these were his notes, I am willing to give him the benefit of the doubt. But I would like to repeat and I would like to stress if I may, that this quotation if it is accurately attributed to me is incomplete. And, may I explain that?

Mr. ARENS. I was going to ask you right at that point if there is some additional information which you wanted now to supply to our committee which would make your observations complete.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes. If this was to be attributed to me, and if Mr. Cogley or his researcher had asked me permission to quote me as such, and I went over these 2½ pages, I would have said to him that the Anti-Defamation League would like to make an expression of gratitude, as I would to men like George Sokolsky, men like Victor Riesel, and men like Jack Wren, and men like Fred Woltman, to whom we had gone innumerable times to solicit their opinions.

And get their views, and in many cases get their help in having the artists who had come to us for help, have a hearing before someone in the motion-picture industry who was concerned about it, or with someone in the television industry. I would have preferred to see, if I was being quoted and this was being attributed to me, that some of the comments that I made in a letter which I wrote on June 26 to Fred

Woltman be incorporated in there as an expression of the attitude of the Anti-Defamation League to these men whose judgment we relied on with respect to the bona fides of people who had come to us.

Mr. ARENS. At that point, may I just read you one statement from this report which immediately follows the quotations apparently attributed to yourself:

Without access to the chief "clearance men" (who are often the same persons who make the damning indictment), the blacklisted artist can get nowhere. These particular men are all-important. They have the power to wound and the power to heal the wound. They can hold off rightwing criticism, which in turn cuts off pressure on sponsors—

and the like.

I will not read the entire quotation.

Mr. SCHULTZ. I take it that this is not material quoted, and this is unquoted material that you are now reading.

Mr. ARENS. I have just read, sir, an excerpt from page 91, volume II, which immediately follows quotations identified yesterday as the quotations or statements of Mr. Forster. Your observations are absolutely correct. Namely, that what I have just read is not in this volume attributed to Mr. Forster.

Mr. FORSTER. Would you repeat the question, Mr. Arens?

Mr. ARENS. I have just read you this quotation which immediately follows the quotes attributed to yourself.

Does this not, to your mind, convey the impression that there is a kind of a board of clearance men who can wound and who often bring indictments against people and then clear them?

Mr. FORSTER. I do not know, Mr. Arens, whether or not I would phrase it that way. I would certainly say some of the men referred to in this statement attributed to me are and have been in a position to help troubled artists in the entertainment world get a fair hearing. I would say it is substantially true that if a knowledgeable expert in the field of communism wrote an exposé about an artist and charged him with subversive associations, that there is a likelihood that the motion-picture industry or the radio industry would look twice before it would use the services of such a talent.

But I do not know that I would accept or adopt this as a precise formula of the situation.

Mr. ARENS. Does not this situation, as revealed here in the quotation which I just gave to you, describe a reprehensible attitude and a reprehensible conduct on the part of people who are alleged to be clearance men?

Mr. FORSTER. From where I sat, the men who are alleged to be clearance men in this context were doing good and not evil.

Mr. ARENS. They were undertaking to assist in a humanitarian enterprise to rehabilitate people who had been for some reason or other enmeshed in the Communist conspiracy; is that not correct?

Mr. FORSTER. From where I sat in my contacts with these people, we came to them for help, and they gave us help.

Mr. ARENS. But do you not construe the quotations of yourself and the language which I have just read in the report, volume II, as portraying a situation in which Mr. Woltman, Mr. Sokolsky, and Mr. Wren, and Mr. Riesel are engaged in a reprehensible line of work?

Mr. FORSTER. I could imagine, Mr. Arens, that the man to whom I talked listened to me that way. He may have had a complete sense

of repugnance about what I explained the Anti-Defamation League was doing. He may have resented the procedures that I was describing as being followed by the Anti-Defamation League.

MR. ARENS. Did you intend in your observations to this person who interviewed you, to relay to the Fund for the Republic's people the concept that the work of Mr. Woltman, Mr. Riesel, Mr. Sokolsky, Mr. Wren, and the other so-called clearance men, was reprehensible?

MR. FORSTER. First, with respect to Mr. Woltman, let me say this: If this had been complete, I would have preferred that it show that on an occasion or two, I may have communicated with Mr. Woltman to get his opinion about an artist in the entertainment world who had come to us for help. I would have preferred it to be explicit, and show that I never asked Mr. Woltman for any help.

I solicited Mr. Woltman's opinion, and Mr. Woltman gave me his opinion, and offered me no help. So that whatever implications there are in that statement which you read, Mr. Arens, they would not apply insofar as Mr. Woltman is concerned.

MR. ARENS. Did you at any time intend, in your observations to the investigator, to convey the impression that there were in New York City a clique of so-called clearance men who were engaged in a reprehensible line of business of damning people unjustly and of then in certain instances wielding their power to clear them?

MR. FORSTER. I do not know, Mr. Arens, whether or not the sum of what I said added up to that in the mind of the interviewer, whether or not he considered that I was trying to make out such a situation. I cannot say that. I frankly do not remember what I said specifically. We talked informally.

MR. ARENS. Did you intend to convey that impression?

MR. FORSTER. You see, I am trying to be precise for you. I might well have said that, which would give him the impression that that was my intention.

MR. ARENS. Is it a fact that there are or that there were at the time of your interview so-called clearance men in New York City who would bring damning indictments unjustifiably against individuals and then after they have been approached properly in a right way, help those individuals?

MR. FORSTER. Certainly, I could not have thought that about the men there named.

MR. SCHULTZ. I take it that you are confining your questions to New York City for some purpose. You keep repeating New York City, and I—

MR. ARENS. The reason why I am alluding to New York City is because I think it is obvious, is it not, Mr. Forster, that all of the material attributed to you pertains to New York City; is that not correct?

MR. FORSTER. I do not understand the question. I think not, if I understand your question.

MR. SCHULTZ. I was wondering why, and now I understand the reason for it.

MR. ARENS. Are you satisfied, Counsel?

MR. SCHULTZ. Yes, sir.

MR. ARENS. The clearance men alluded to in this whole chapter are the men in New York City, Mr. Woltman, Mr. Sokolsky, and incidentally, we have in this interrogation thus far, and I am sorry I have done so, omitted to make reference to Mr. O'Neil, of the American

Legion. Mr. James F. O'Neil. Is he in your judgment in the same category as Mr. Sokolsky and Mr. Woltman and Mr. Riesel, and Mr. Wren?

Mr. FORSTER. I do not know what you mean by in the same category. I regard Jim O'Neil—

Mr. ARENS. Is he one of these villainous clearance men or is he a man who in his operations is trying and has been trying on a humanitarian basis to rehabilitate people?

Mr. FORSTER. Mr. Arens, I never characterized these men in the words you just put, villainous men.

Mr. ARENS. I am not suggesting that you did.

Mr. FORSTER. Excuse me, I thought that you were asking me whether I regarded them as a group of villainous men.

Mr. ARENS. I am sorry if the record indicates so.

Mr. FORSTER. I am sorry, sir.

Mr. ARENS. The chapter here on clearance alludes, as you know, to a number of these clearance men, including a Legion official.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. We are sure from other parts of the context, that it refers to Mr. James O'Neil.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have any experience which leads you to believe that Mr. James O'Neil, of the American Legion, is engaged or has been engaged in a damning operation, or what they call a damning indictment of people unjustifiably, and then come along and wield his power to heal the wounds?

Mr. FORSTER. No; but from my knowledge, I can say that Jim O'Neil has tried to help me help people who have come to us for help.

(Committee members present: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Frazier, Velde, and Jackson.)

Mr. ARENS. Has he been in this category that you have been previously discussing in your testimony of a humanitarian trying to rehabilitate people?

Mr. FORSTER. From where I sat in the experience or two that I had with him; yes.

The CHAIRMAN. Actually, the Committee on Un-American Activities has in its files a great many letters of explanation written by people to whom you suggested this was the way to get the record straight. We have been doing that right along even when Mr. Velde was chairman. Just a minute ago we remarked about the number of people you had suggested get in touch with the committee in order to explain something that might have put them in a bad light.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir. I also felt and the Anti-Defamation League felt if a man had a hearing he had no complaint.

The CHAIRMAN. That is right.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Forster, after the Fund for the Republic report was made public you issued a statement, did you not?

Mr. FORSTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you write a letter, which was subsequently made public?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir. I wrote a letter to Fred Woltman under date of June 26, 1956.

Mr. ARENS. In that letter, alluded to yesterday, you indicated that some of this material in the report would indicate that you might have

been the person who was referred to as the public relations expert, did you not?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Did you at any time subsequent to the publication of this report by the Fund for the Republic have any conversation with Mr. Cogley or members of his staff?

Mr. FORSTER. I never asked Mr. Cogley directly the question as to whether or not he referred to me or intended to quote me in these statements. What I did with Mr. Cogley, sir, was this: After I drafted a letter to Mr. Fred Woltman I called Mr. Cogley and asked him directly whether or not he regarded anything in my letter to Fred Woltman as inconsistent with any of the notes that his interviewer had made in his conversations with me. Mr. Cogley said there was nothing inconsistent in my letter with the notes that he had, and I sent the letter to Fred Woltman, and, as I indicated on the copy, I sent a copy of it to Mr. Cogley and I sent a copy of it to Mr. Hutchins.

Mr. DOYE. May I ask the date of the letter that you mailed to Mr. Cogley, please?

Mr. FORSTER. The letter was not mailed, sir. The letter was delivered by messenger, first to Mr. Woltman, and I think the messenger had 2 envelopes or 3 envelopes. When he finished delivering the first letter to Mr. Woltman he then delivered to the Fund for the Republic, I assume.

Mr. SCHULTZ. What date?

Mr. FORSTER. On June 26, if that is the date of the letter. I assume that is the day.

Mr. DOYLE. Do you know if Mr. Cogley got the letter that was delivered to that address?

Mr. FORSTER. Oh, yes; I know Mr. Cogley got the letter, because it is my understanding that Mr. Cogley released this letter to the press.

Mr. ARENS. I have just one question, Mr. Forster, and then that will conclude the staff interrogation, if you please, sir.

With reference to this particular letter, what time of day on the 26th was a copy of your letter to Mr. Woltman delivered to the Fund for the Republic or to Mr. Cogley?

Mr. FORSTER. I can only say this, that I signed those letters, to the best of my recollection, oh, around 10 or 10:30 in the morning, and then I gave the letters to my secretary and asked her to have a messenger boy deliver them.

Mr. ARENS. Promptly, is that correct?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir. I don't know whether they were delivered within an hour or 5 hours.

Mr. ARENS. May I ask you this: Do you know that on the 27th Mr. Cogley or the Fund for the Republic issued a press release to which was appended a copy of your letter to Mr. Woltman?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes; I know that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you have any discussion with Mr. Cogley subsequent to the release of this letter as to why he did not identify you more specifically in his press release as the individual to whom he was alluding as the public-relations expert who had given him the information respecting this clearance board?

Mr. FORSTER. I never saw or talked to Mr. Cogley after that.

Mr. ARENS. Did you talk with any of his representatives on this

Mr. FORSTER. No, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Forster, you have confirmed the suspicion that this committee has had right along, namely, that this report isn't worth the paper it is printed on. We are both dealing in a very difficult field. Mr. Herman Edelsberg, of the Washington office of your organization, has frequently conferred with me concerning delicate questions with which we are dealing and we try to arrive at a proper solution. We have been making an inquiry for a long while into these charges of blacklisting. I do not think there is a blacklist. I cannot find evidence of it.

Mr. FORSTER. I think there is, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. There is probably available to people a list of those who perhaps were Communists.

Mr. FORSTER. No, sir—

The CHAIRMAN. I do not think there is a list, as such.

Mr. FORSTER. I don't know whether or not, Mr. Chairman, it is in the form of a list, but I think there is such a thing as blacklisting and, if you will permit me, I would like to describe what I mean by blacklisting.

The CHAIRMAN. I think that would be very helpful because we had a definition of blacklisting yesterday.

Mr. FORSTER. I mean by blacklisting the denial of employment to a man on grounds other than merit without first giving him an opportunity to be heard. I know that in the cases that we attempted to help actors, actresses, and others had been unable to get work and, according to them, had been told quietly, privately, and sometimes bluntly, that they just could not get work because of past records; actors and actresses who had never had a hearing by a radio company or a television company or a motion-picture industry. I don't regard a man as being blacklisted if he has been heard by a radio or television network, if he has been heard by the motion-picture industry if that is his profession. After he has been heard, it seems to me that an employer has a perfect right to decide whether he wants to engage or hire the talents of that person, but so long as he has not given him an opportunity to be heard on the considerations which impelled him against employing the man, then that man, I think, has been blacklisted.

The CHAIRMAN. Assuming that that was the sole consideration.

Mr. FORSTER. That is what I said, sir, and I would say this, sir: To my knowledge there are men on the staffs of the networks and on the staffs of radio companies and of the Hollywood motion-picture industries whose purpose it is to screen possible talent, to decide whether or no these networks and these radio companies want to use these people for considerations other than merit.

The CHAIRMAN. I have on my desk a letter from a very prominent resident of the city of New York giving me the names of a number of persons who have been denied employment because they testified before the Committee on Un-American Activities.

Mr. FORSTER. That may well be, sir. I am not suggesting that after a hearing before this honorable committee a television producer or a motion-picture producer will thereupon decide that he can

use the talent. I know that men like Fred Woltman, that men like George Sokolsky and Victor Riesel have tried to say, where they have been asked, to these entertainment industries, "In our judgment as knowledgeable experts we can see no reason why this man's talent should not be used if he is qualified to perform theatrically in all other respects."

In this sense, Mr. Chairman, I urge on you that there is a serious problem of blacklisting. Frankly, I don't have the answer to it. I know this: That with the sense of compassion of the Anti-Defamation League, in the Jewish tradition, when a person has a chosen profession and cannot get a job in that profession and does not have an opportunity to explain what he has done and what he thinks and what he believes, this is a dreadful thing, this is a problem that has plagued the industry, this is a problem which has plagued knowledgeable newspapermen, it is a problem which has plagued the Anti-Defamation League. We would like frankly to see a solution to it.

If this committee can come to solutions, can come to methods for correcting this kind of problem, I think it would be a tremendous service.

Let me add this, if I may: If the Fund for the Republic report results in this kind of public hearing and results in public discussion across this country about the problem to which I have pointed, if it does nothing else regardless of its accuracy or inaccuracy on anything on its pages, I think it will have performed a great public service—wittingly or otherwise, deliberately or otherwise.

The CHAIRMAN. I think you are absolutely correct. I was amused when you talked about your letter being published before you knew it had been delivered. I just received a letter a moment ago signed by Robert M. Hutchins which I understand was published and I have just looked at it. In the letter is the very clear innuendo that this committee is not going to permit witnesses for the Fund for the Republic to be heard. When we are considering the Fund for the Republic—and we are not now—we are going to permit witnesses to be heard, but more than that, I personally assured a director of the Fund who came to me from Dr. Hutchins' office that witnesses would be permitted to be heard. So what Dr. Hutchins says in this letter is simply not true.

Mr. FORSTER. I wouldn't know a thing about it, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle?

Mr. BETHUEL WEBSTER (counsel, Fund for the Republic). Mr. Chairman—

Mr. DOYLE. As I understand it—

Mr. WEBSTER. May I interrupt for a moment?

The CHAIRMAN. No.

Mr. WEBSTER. I want to ask you—

The CHAIRMAN. You are not in order.

Mr. WEBSTER. I want simply to ask that that letter be put on the record.

The CHAIRMAN. It is in every record but the record of this committee. Everyone I know of has received a copy of it before I was given the courtesy of receiving it.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask the witness a couple of questions:

As I understand, then, the substance of your testimony is that in your knowledge—you used those words "your knowledge"—there may

not be a written list, but a list by practice. There is a practice of blacklisting; is that right?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. It exists today to your knowledge?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. In the industry.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. By the industry you refer to the radio—

Mr. FORSTER. Television and motion-picture industry.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand your position to be that substantially the extent of your activity in connection with the blacklisting practice in industry has been that B'nai B'rith through your offices has endeavored to obtain hearings for artists in the industry who have to your knowledge apparently been blacklisted?

Mr. FORSTER. That is right, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. So they might obtain hearings within the industry.

Mr. FORSTER. That is right, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. In order that they might make an honest living.

Mr. FORSTER. That is right, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question: Have you called Fred Woltman, Mr. Sokolsky, Mr. O'Neil, and Mr. Wren—have you asked their cooperation to obtain that sort of hearing for any of these individuals?

Mr. FORSTER. I can't recall at this point any specific instances. It may well be where I went to one of them they volunteered to present the situation to a network or the motion pictures.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, you believed you had knowledge at the time you called them for advice that they had access to the industry in one way or another, which if they used it, might succeed in getting these individuals in the industry a hearing within the industry?

Mr. FORSTER. I know that their opinions and their judgments are highly respected by the industry on this problem and I would assume that if they didn't have personally contacts they could simply pick up the telephone and identify themselves.

Mr. DOYLE. I understood you to say the policy of B'nai B'rith was never to try to rehabilitate a person who came to you for help who previously had pleaded the fifth amendment before a congressional committee; is that correct?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes; and I would say it comes out this way: We were trying essentially to get these people a hearing. If people pleaded the fifth amendment obviously in our judgment they were not interested in being heard because they didn't want to talk. So in those instances we could suggest nothing to them by way of help from us.

Mr. DOYLE. The other point which you mentioned about the policy of B'nai B'rith, as I understood it, was that you advised them to come to the committee, referring to a congressional committee, this one or the corresponding committee in the Senate, and answer all questions by the committee without pleading the fifth amendment.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

Mr. DOYLE. Don't you feel that they are entitled to plead the fifth amendment under any circumstances?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir; they are but we were concerned with getting these people a hearing.

(Representative Kearney entered the hearing room.)

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I asked that question of you, sir, is that now and then I have heard the statement made that B'nai B'rith had no such policy in connection with advising people to come and not plead the fifth amendment. I merely wanted to get directly from you what your policy was.

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Frazier, any questions?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Velde?

Mr. VELDE. I have no questions. I just want to congratulate Mr. Forster on his very fine testimony here. I agree that your definition of blacklisting is a lot better than the one we heard yesterday from Mr. Cogley.

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Forster, I join with Mr. Velde in extending congratulations on the work which has been done. I have several questions I would like to ask.

First, if you were going to prepare a study of blacklisting what sources would you consider? Where would you go to obtain information?

Mr. FORSTER. My first and direct and primary source would be the industries themselves, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. Would it occur to you, perhaps—and I say this out of the experience of having received the great compliment of having been sued for \$22 million as being a party to a conspiracy blacklist, so I think I can speak with some authority on it—would it occur to you to check with the Committee on Un-American Activities or any other Government agency to determine what facts might be in their possession?

Mr. FORSTER. Of course, sir.

Mr. JACKSON. It would seem to me that that would follow.

I think in this entire matter of blacklisting there should be made a distinction. I should like to have your opinion on this. The argument appears to break down into two parts: Group No. 1, which is private groups or organizations which operate for profit which may or may not furnish lists, to be further developed during the course of this testimony, to private employers. That is the one group. That is the group with which our primary concern should be, rather than with the groups or the individuals such as yourself and Mr. Woltman, Mr. Sokolsky and a like number of individuals on the west coast whose primary demonstrated concern has been to advise former members of the Communist Party to come before the Federal Bureau of Investigation or some congressional committee for the purpose of putting the record straight. Am I right in breaking that down into two classifications rather than lumping all of you together as one factor in this blacklisting?

Mr. FORSTER. Yes, sir. I would not regard newspapermen or the Anti-Defamation League in the same capacity or occupation as those professionally engaged in this problem who are not in the industry.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, the individuals who are concerned with bringing before the committee such men as Martin Berkeley, Edward Dmytryk, Larry Parks, and so forth, are in my opinion doing a service to the country and doing a service to the individuals concerned.

That brings up a point, Mr. Chairman, to which I think the committee should give some consideration: The cases of individuals who are unable to obtain employment because of the fact that they have been listed in one or another publication as being members of the Communist Party or having Communist sympathies, the possibility of extending to those individuals an invitation to appear before the committee for the purpose of putting the facts on the record under oath, as we now extend an invitation to every person mentioned in the course of one of our hearings in a derogatory manner to come before the committee and place the facts on the record under oath.

It seems to me that if a person has been maligned, if there is no substance to the charges, we might well take the time to hear the true facts of the matter and spread them on the record under oath, not to the end that we either clear or convict, because we do not have that authority, but rather in order that on some official record a denial as to certain charges may be entered.

The CHAIRMAN. I would like to remind you that we have repeatedly extended invitations to people who feel that there is something of a derogatory nature in the file about them. Not too long ago we heard a very famous New York artist in executive session. She had been mentioned in connection with some sort of a benefit for Ben Davis and it had injured her because he happened to have been a Communist. You know the story. That is being done right along.

Mr. JACKSON. It is always being done where it is the outgrowth of a committee hearing, but my idea would be, Mr. Chairman, to extend that in order to give an opportunity to someone to come in and deny or affirm, not to come in and take the fifth amendment. I don't mean that. Obviously that would serve no useful purpose.

One final question, if I may, Mr. Forster. I believe you have answered this previously, but I would like to have it very definitely in the record. Is it your opinion and the opinion of the ADL, that an employer should, in any case, be coerced or forced to employ or reemploy an individual in the entertainment field who has refused under oath to state whether or not he is or was a member of the Communist Party?

Mr. FORSTER. I think employers have a perfect right to decide on all the facts that they have before them whether or not they want to hire someone, and I don't think anyone has a right to say that they must or must not do something.

Mr. JACKSON. Thank you very much.

The CHAIRMAN. General Kearney.

Mr. KEARNEY. Mr. Chairman, I agree with the thoughts of my colleague, Mr. Jackson. As a matter of fact, I remember several occasions when the committee has written letters concerning the testimony of certain individuals, and they came before the committee and told their story. I remember a release of the committee several years ago asking that sympathetic consideration be given to individuals who have appeared before the committee. I think that has been the policy of the committee.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that this year 41 invitations were extended to people to appear before this committee whose names had been mentioned as being members of a Communist organization. Of the 41 it is significant to note that not 1 single person indicated a desire either to appear or to submit an affidavit.

Mr. VELDE. As a matter of fact, in the history of this committee there has been no one who has appeared to deny or affirm charges made against him.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Forster, we appreciate your help, and keep to this job. We all have to lend whatever talents we have to try to bring a solution to it.

Mr. FORSTER. Thank you, sir.

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will stand in recess for 5 minutes.

(Brief recess.)

(Committee members present at reconvening after recess: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Frazier, Velde, Kearney, Jackson, and Scherer.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Call your witness.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Fred Woltman, please.

Please remain standing while the chairman administers an oath to you, Mr. Woltman.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Woltman, will you raise your right hand? Do you swear the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I do.

TESTIMONY OF FREDERICK E. WOLTMAN

Mr. ARENS. Please identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. WOLTMAN. Frederick E. Woltman, W-o-l-t-m-a-n, 72 Barrow Street, New York City. I am a staff writer with the New York World-Telegram and Sun.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Woltman, give us in just a word, please, sir, a brief sketch of your background, your education, and experience.

Mr. WOLTMAN. I got a bachelor of arts and master of arts at the University of Pittsburgh and taught philosophy briefly there and then joined the New York Telegram in 1929. I have been with it since.

Mr. ARENS. Have you had a specialty in your work with the New York World Telegram?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I got involved in writing about communism and Communist infiltration.

Mr. ARENS. Have you over the course of many years written a number of articles exposing Communist infiltration in certain phases of American life?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes; several thousand.

Mr. ARENS. Have you received a recognition for that service?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I got the Pulitzer prize in 1947 for a series exposing Communist infiltration.

Mr. ARENS. In what segment of work?

Mr. WOLTMAN. For my series of articles in 1946, "Exposing Communist Infiltration." That is the way it was worded.

Mr. ARENS. Were you at any time in the course of the last few years ever interviewed by a representative of the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Never. I interviewed them, as a matter of fact, last July when I was getting up material for a series of my own on

so-called blacklisting and spent several hours with Mr. Harrington and a number of other people. I took notes.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Harrington is a representative of the Fund for the Republic; is that true?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Is that Michael Harrington?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you please, in a word, the circumstances surrounding your interview of Mr. Harrington.

Mr. WOLTMAN. I was looking into the field. I had had practically no contact with radio or television whatsoever before that. I wrote a couple of articles involving people in the industry but I was assigned to do a series on the so-called blacklisting problem. I called Fund people and thought I might get some leads from them and I went up there and talked to them. They talked at some length. This was in July of last year. One thing that impressed me was that they said they had found no case that they themselves would regard as real blacklisting up to that time.

Mr. ARENS. What year or month was that?

Mr. WOLTMAN. This was about July 1955. My series appeared in August.

Mr. ARENS. Did they in the course of the interview undertake to elicit information from you?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No. They talked about the subject, but they at no time asked me any questions, and certainly never any questions relating to the report and what the report says about the clearance board and so on.

Mr. ARENS. Was there developed in the course of the conversation that you had with Mr. Harrington and representatives of the Fund, the subject matter of clearance?

Mr. WOLTMAN. We probably discussed procedures that were followed to assist people in getting jobs back if they had gotten themselves involved with the Communist movement.

Mr. ARENS. When did you first learn about the report of the Fund for the Republic on blacklisting?

Mr. WOLTMAN. On June 8, which was about 2 weeks before it was published or 3 weeks, Jack Wren called me and said, "You are mentioned in the report." He read the quotation which concerned Henry Morgan. I was quite surprised and indignant when I heard that. The thing I took exception to particularly was the report said:

Wren helped comedian Henry Morgan out of a jam in 1952. Morgan was having trouble getting work because of his Red Channels listing and gave a speech before a television artists union meeting which helped exonerate him. Wren wrote the speech. He also arranged for the World-Telegram and Sun's Fred Woltman to write a feature story on the speech commending Morgan for his courage.

When I heard that I started to burn.

Mr. ARENS. What did you do then, when you heard about that?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I burned up a while and then I called the Fund for the Republic and got Joe Lyford on the phone. He is a press information man. I asked him if he had read the report, if he knew about the reference to me. He did not. I read it. I told him I regarded that as libelous because an arrangement for a newspaperman to write a story implies a certain consideration, if not money at least it implies

that a deal between the report and the advertising agency executive or the publicity man to plant a favorable story.

I told Lyford that there was about as much of an arrangement in this as if Lyford had called me and said the Fund had a feature story that I would be interested in and told me about it, and I said "Sure." That is all that happened in Wren's case. He said, "Morgan is going to make a speech and perhaps you are interested in it," and I was.

I wrote not a feature story extolling Morgan, but a straight news story about a union meeting in which the headline reads, "Reds Rout Henry Morgan for Panning Them."

Mr. ARENS. Is this document a photostatic copy of the article which you wrote on this incident?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I suggest to the chairman that this document be marked "Woltman Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be so incorporated.

Mr. ARENS. Would you proceed to tell of your conversations with representatives of the Fund for the Republic after you had had your attention directed to your name in the report of the Fund?

Mr. WOLTMAN. On this particular thing Lyford was quite upset. I told him I thought that Cogley had gone out on a limb and misused words and that they probably would want to correct it. He agreed with me.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Lyford agreed with you?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Sure. He said, "Fred, I am going to get Cogley right away and have him talk to you." Lyford called back and said "Cogley is out of town but will call you the first of the week because we want to correct this." That is the last I heard.

At that time I didn't know I was also one of the clearance men in the clearance chapter. If I had known that I probably would have pressed the thing a little harder. They let it slide, and Cogley never called me. So I am in the position of having an outside arrangement with an advertising agency to plant news stories.

Mr. ARENS. Now I invite your attention to page 89 and the succeeding 2 or 3 pages of volume II of the report on blacklisting of the Fund for the Republic and I ask you, first of all, whether or not you ever gave "clearance" to any individual seeking employment in the radio or television industry.

(Representative Kearney left the hearing room.)

Mr. WOLTMAN. Apart from the reference, the article I gave you about Henry Morgan, I have no recollection of being involved with anyone in that industry or being consulted by anyone about anyone in that industry. It so happens that I hadn't been writing about radio and television. I had been writing about other subjects. The guy who had been writing was Howard Rushmore of the Journal, who was completely omitted from the report. He is the one who has been exposing Communists in the industry. I was completely out of the picture.

Mr. ARENS. As you know from the previous testimony in the course of the last day or so here, the public-relations expert who is alluded to on page 89 of this volume and to whom considerable quotations are attributed on the next page or two has been identified as Mr. Arnold

Forster, the witness who preceded you in the witness chair. Did you ever at any time talk with Mr. Forster about a blacklist of radio or TV people?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I have talked with him about many aspects of communism and persons involved in the Communist movement. I have no recollection whatsoever of having talked with him about any radio or TV entertainment, director, producer, and when I spoke with him the other day he could recall none. We have talked about many other people in other industries, but as I say, I don't know why I was dragged in by the heels on this but I was, although the Morgan story is the only thing that I can recall. I don't know any people in the industry.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever met Mr. John Cogley, the director of the Fund for the Republic Report on Blacklisting?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes, I ran into him at a press conference which Robert M. Hutchins had in New York, at which time I said to Hutchins, "Would you approve of one of your projects hiring a person who is sympathetic to the Communist movement as a researcher, and about whom there is some question?"

Mr. Hutchins deliberated at some length and then somehow ducked the subject. I forget how he did it.

Mr. ARENS. To whom were you alluding?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I was alluding to Elizabeth Poe, I think that is her name. Yes. As a matter of fact, I learned this when I was talking with the boys from the Harrington staff. They said they had two people in Hollywood who were doing this research there and one of them was named Jacobs, whom I had heard of incidentally as a pretty sound anti-Communist. I know you have made reference to him yesterday, but I think he is regarded as probably the one person on the project staff who has knowledgeable information about the Communist movement.

The CHAIRMAN. You think there is one person who knows something about it?

Mr. WOLTMAN. This guy is regarded as knowledgeable. He was a Communist years ago. There may be others, too.

Mr. ARENS. He didn't write the report, though, did he?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No. Cogley and Harrington I think know a lot about the thing and they are not Communists. I wouldn't call them Communists or sympathizers. I think, like Mr. Hutchins, they are very mixed up. Elizabeth Poe, on the other hand, wrote this article which you presented the other day, the Hollywood Story, in the Frontier magazine, which is about as loaded with Communist's slants as anything I ever read about a so-called blacklist.

Mr. ARENS. That was written before the study began?

Mr. WOLTMAN. This was written in May 1954. I was astounded to find that they would have a person like this as a reporter. They call them reporters. Mr. Harrington said—I am not sure whether her name came up but he did say, "No matter who we have as reporters, their stuff is very carefully screened by us." At any rate, this story, as I say, if any one would look through it he could tell right away that the person who wrote it was very sympathetic to the Communist movement. As a matter of fact, that individual was a member of the Communist faction of the Newspaper Guild at Time magazine and was for some years.

Mr. ARENS. Who was?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Miss Poe. She was working on Time magazine. She was very active in the Communist group. There was a split in most of the guild units and she was very active in that. After the Hutchins press interview broke up, I was nailed by Mr. Cogley, who introduced himself, and was very much excited. He said, "You are all wrong on the name. She just got married, so she is using one name at one time and another name at another time." I said, "O. K., I am wrong about that, but what about your Communist sympathies?"

His explanation was, "We have a good anti-Communist to handle that end of it, Mr. Jacobs, but we have to have somebody who is sympathetic to the Communists, who is friendly with them, or whom would we have to interview people like Gale Sondergaard?"

That rather bowled me over because I had never heard of that theory of investigation. At any rate, that is what he said, that she had access to the Communists out there and there were quite a few that of course the Fund had to interview.

I think that that is the basis for some of the faults in the report. It is just not the way a newspaper would operate or any other investigating agency would operate.

Mr. ARENS. I understood you to say a few moments ago that over the course of a considerable period of time you made a study of this question of so-called blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

Mr. WOLTMAN. I did in the last year; yes.

Mr. ARENS. Do you have with you copies of any of the articles you wrote?

(Representative Kearney entered the hearing room.)

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, that these news articles which appeared in the New York World-Telegram and Sun, marked "Woltman Exhibit No. 2," be incorporated by reference in this record.

The CHAIRMAN. I think we ought to go further than that. They are so well written that I think they ought to be made a part of the record and not incorporated merely by reference, but printed as a part of the record of the hearing.

(The material referred to marked "Woltman Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

WOLTMAN EXHIBIT No. 2

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, August 9, 1955]

IS THERE A TV BLACKLIST? NETWORKS TRY TO KEEP "PINK" FILES FAIR

(By Frederick Woltman, staff writer)

The House Un-American Activities Committee opens public hearings here next Monday on Communist infiltration of television and the stage. Evidence will be introduced that artists, whose names are still featured on the air and stage, have been secret members of the Communist Party.

Left unsolved will be a broader issue, one that has been TV's major headache since it emerged into a national industry 7 years ago—blacklisting.

A SET OF CONCLUSIONS

Does TV maintain a blacklist of suspect actors, writers, and directors that bars them from employment in the industry? Are innocent artists victimized out of jobs and so terrorized by "secret police" that they're even afraid to speak up at union meetings?

This newspaper has explored the blacklisting charges and arrived at these conclusions:

TV has no formal, widespread, or airtight blacklist for Communist activity, much less for political opinion.

The Communists in the 30's and 40's heavily infiltrated entertainment. There was always a small, hard core of Communists. In addition, a sizable segment of show people (estimated as high as 30 percent) had wittingly or innocently been drawn into the Communist conspiracy by lending their names to Communist fronts.

The TV networks and advertising agencies do keep separate, individual information files on past Red-front records of prospective artists; and have special departments to handle them. Some files are hit or miss; others carefully systematized. There is virtually no collaboration among networks and agencies.

This system has serious weaknesses. No uniform standards exist for deciding whether an artist might be a "controversial risk." And the artists themselves might never know of derogatory data they could refute or explain.

The TV industry generally tries hard to be fair. Networks and agencies spend considerable time and effort helping people clear their records and making their disavowal of past Red connections effective.

At the same time, a few sponsors maintain a hard-and-fast rule against hiring anyone for their TV shows with any kind of a record, no matter how flimsy or unevaluated.

SENSITIVE INDUSTRY

TV is especially sensitive to public opinion and pressures. It scrupulously avoids giving affront to racial or religious minorities over the air. The industry also wants no truck with anyone who had significant Communist connections in the past and has taken no steps to clear himself.

One artist who had a direct, personal encounter with so-called blacklisting—and is willing to talk about it publicly—is Hume Cronyn, versatile actor-director-producer of Broadway and Hollywood and husband of Jessica Tandy.

He calls it "a profoundly shocking experience."

It was by accident Mr. Cronyn discovered he was not "clearable" as a TV actor by a number of agencies. Then he recalled several offers of TV shows which suddenly, he said, "went dead on me with no explanation." Not that it mattered much, for he was too busy otherwise to have accepted.

A REVELATION

"But it was a revelation that my political credo had been challenged," he told this writer.

Mr. Cronyn made the rounds of top executives of the networks and agencies. One network official came up with eight items in the network's dossier on him. Three purported to link him with three obvious fronts: The Hollywood Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions, a "Thought Control Conference" in 1947, and an organized protest against any investigation of Communist influence in Hollywood.

"I got into a terrible sweat," the actor says. "Then I went to work." He hoofed it to the public library and other sources, dug out the outfits' literature, made photostats and was able to disprove the alleged connections.

He prepared an elaborate brief refuting the network's file. This included contributions to such anti-Red groups as the International Rescue Committee, which helps escapees from the Iron Curtain. A Canadian, he showed he'd tried twice, without success, to enlist in Canada's Air Force.

SIGNIFICANT TIMING

"This was in 1939 and 1940," he says, "during the Hitler-Stalin pact, when no Communist sympathizer would be caught dead volunteering for service."

Most of the TV executives, says Mr. Cronyn, "bent over backward to help me."

This cleared him with most of the industry and some of the doubting agencies. Have since come through with offers. At the same time, Mr. Cronyn has been tipped off several sponsors still would automatically keep him out of their TV productions.

(Tomorrow—How a housewife, shopping in a supermarket, set off the spark that exploded into one of TV's biggest headaches—blacklisting.)

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, August 10, 1955]

TV BLACKLISTING? GI'S MOM BEGAN VIDEO RED HUNT

(By Frederick Woltman, staff writer)

A housewife, shopping in a supermarket, set off the spark which eventually exploded into television's big headache—blacklisting.

The congressional hearings into Communist infiltration of TV, which begin here next Monday, can be expected to reopen the blacklisting controversy. A string of TV artists are to be identified as secret Communists. But even though names will come out in the open, the headache itself will continue.

It started after the Korean war was underway. A housewife with a gleam in her eye stalked up to a national brand of cigarettes. She swept the packages from the shelf and stomped on them.

"My boy's fighting Communists in Korea," she shouted, "and you're putting Reds on television."

STARTED REACTION

The commotion she aroused started a chain reaction and had far-reaching effects on the booming TV industry.

In the lush days (before TV and the cold war), life in show business was relatively simple. All a producer had to do was find a smash hit, round up box-office stars, and keep the audience entertained.

But, by 1950, the chips were down because of Korea. The CIO had scuttled its Red-dominated unions. The Communist Control Act was on the books. Public opinion had hardened on public figures with records of past Communist associations.

The entire TV industry—networks, sponsors and their advertising agencies—found itself smack in the middle of a bang-up hassle over communism.

TV VULNERABLE

Both radio and the movies had gone through the mill. TV, however, was especially vulnerable. For TV brought the artist directly into the home. More letters came from a single TV show in a week than a radio show in 6 months.

Letters of protest against allegedly Red actors began to pour into the home offices of TV sponsors. The familiar ultimatum was "Your product will never be seen in my home again."

Proctor & Gamble, one of the earliest advertisers hit, even found it necessary to mimeograph replies to a flood of complaints to its top executives. Retail outlets were picketed and products boycotted.

The industry's first reaction was panic. One network estimates it spent several hundred thousand dollars to get off the hook. General Foods canceled an entire Henry Aldrich broadcast over an incident involving Actress Jean Muir and took up the actress' 13-month contract, all at a reported loss of \$65,000.

The competitive firms were hardest hit. Among them were Borden, Kraft, Du Pont, and the large soap and cigarette manufacturers.

The heat was even on the institutional advertisers, like U. S. Steel and Alcoa, who sold no products to the public direct but were spending millions to win friends and influence people.

PRESSURE MOUNTED

With TV expanding enormously until today there are 34.5 million sets, NBC, CBS, and ABC saw trouble ahead. The mounting pressure on the advertisers got to be an acute problem to Batten, Barton, Durstine & Osborn, J. Walter Thompson, Young & Rubicam, and the scores of lesser advertising agencies that put on TV shows for the sponsors.

The industry found itself hamstrung.

Its lawyers ruled positively against any cooperative, industrywide approach. Hollywood already had spent an estimated \$3 million on its own Communist headache. On top of that, the movie companies were socked with \$63 million in damage suits brought by discharged fifth-amendment witnesses who charged conspiracy.

The question basically was: How to determine which artists have Communist records which could be offensive to the vast TV audience; and how to protect the innocent. TV had no agency to turn to—Government or otherwise.

As one sponsor put it: "We're in the milk business. We don't know beans about show business and less about subversion. We're not competent to handle this. And when we try to, we get smacked by both sides.

"We have our stockholders to think of, as well as our customers. As a corporation we can't afford to antagonize either. We can't even afford to come out with a clear-cut public policy."

SEPARATE WAYS

The networks, sponsors, and agencies went about handling the problem in their separate ways, often hit and miss, always without coordination.

TV unmistakably was in the business of policing the air for subversion, an undertaking that needs the resources of the FBI. However you look at it, TV had itself a grand headache it was ill equipped to cure.

(Tomorrow: How a Syracuse supermarket owner started the pressure-group harassment of TV officials.)

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, August 11, 1955]

VIDEO BLACKLISTING? BUSINESSMAN SAW RED OVER TV

(By Frederick Woltman, staff writer)

A Syracuse supermarket operator, more than any other single person, brought on television's blacklisting headache—a condition that has plagued the industry for 5 years.

He was behind the relentless pressure groups that turned the fieriest heat on the industry for allegedly bringing Communist-tainted performers into the living rooms of the Nation's TV viewers.

There's scarcely a TV network, sponsor, or advertising agency that hasn't had firsthand contact with Lawrence A. Johnson, president of the Johnson Supermarkets in Syracuse.

The public hearings on Red penetration of TV which the House Un-American Activities Committee starts here next Monday, can be expected to aggravate the headache. There's little the committee can do to alleviate it, for the problem is the video industry's own baby.

SPENT \$50,000

Syracuse's Mr. Johnson, it has been estimated spent upward of \$50,000 on his crusade.

He functions through the Veterans' Action Committee of Syracuse Supermarkets, working closely with the Onondaga County American Legion.

TV got enormous pressure elsewhere, too, from the Catholic War Veterans, Veterans of Foreign Wars, and the American Legion—which kept its State departments and 17,000 posts alerted via a newsletter, the Firing Line, and the American Legion Monthly.

Mr. Johnson, however, had the strongest weapon of all—supermarkets, America's leading retail outlets today. He maintained close liaison with markets all over the country. And many supermarket operators simply refused to push TV-advertised products under fire.

STATIONS FLOODED

TV executives were flooded with individual letters, mimeographed briefs, pamphlets, and photostats from Syracuse aimed at specific artists. Thus, in March 1952, American Tobacco's directors were notified:

"GENTLEMEN: What happens to a GI who lets a Communist through his lines? What happens to an American businessman who employs Commie fronters? Did your executive officers tell you that on * * * you people gave employment to the Communist fronter, * * *, writer of the script of your show, and Communist fronter, * * *, producer of the show, * * *?"

Communications like this packed a wallop and put the advertising agencies in a tough spot.

One milk firm executive wrote Mr. Johnson:

"DEAR LARRY: I want to tell you how grateful I am for the time and help you gave me. * * * It is no exaggeration to say that my eyes have been opened * * *."

A soap firm official wrote him: "If you have any further suggestions to make about our radio and TV talent, I'd consider it a personal favor to hear from you directly."

The pressure technique generally was the same: listing talent with past Red-front connections, based mostly on Government citations, such as participation in the Communists' May Day parades, sponsorship of the National Council of American Soviet Friendship, and endorsement of the Soviet purge trials.

Often, however, the citations were considerably more nebulous and of doubtful value in proving Red sympathies.

CBS circulated a loyalty questionnaire, similar to the standard U. S. civil-service form, among prospective TV employees. It set up its own machinery, under a vice president, for evaluating the records and retained a former FBI agent as adviser. Artists often were given a chance to tell their side of the story.

The advertising agencies began to build up files of their own, so they could know what to expect in hiring TV talent.

Each worked out its own standards of evaluation. There were loopholes, but there was a widespread attempt to be fair. Nevertheless, the rumors spread of a TV industry blacklist for political opinion.

The latest pressure organization to emerge, 18 months ago, is AWARE, Inc. Its stated purpose is to "combat communism in entertainment." Its president, Godfrey P. Schmidt, is an attorney and associate professor of constitutional law at Fordham. AWARE has been accused of blacklisting "by interference and innuendo."

Actually, AWARE is a minor pressure factor in TV, more of an educational or propaganda outfit that holds cocktail parties against communism, brings in lecturers, reports on "Red trends" to its members and instructs them on how to write letters to the newspapers.

AWARE did manage to alienate many members of the anti-Communist American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFL). A recent union referendum condemned its tactics by a vote of 982 to 514. Actors' Equity and Chorus Equity Council adopted similar resolutions.

The principal target of AWARE's critics is Vincent W. Hartnett, technical adviser and member of the board of directors. Mr. Hartnett calls himself "the Nation's top authority on communism and communications."

In 1951 he got out what he called "Confidential Notebook No. 13," which listed Maxwell Anderson, Gertrude Berg, and Eddie Cantor as Communist fellow travelers.

As a private business on the side, Mr. Hartnett advises sponsors, agencies, and, occasionally, networks on Red affiliations of anyone connected with TV. He charges \$5 for an initial report on an actor, \$2 for a followup, and \$20 for complete dossier.

Mr. Hartnett insists his reports are documented. He denies the charge that he can veto names on the hiring lists of TV sponsors simply by striking them out.

"I am a talent consultant working on a fee basis," he says, "the same as Dun & Bradstreet. If I find derogatory information, I send it to the sponsor and he decides. Some are tight, some very lenient.

"Only if a sponsor requests it do I give my own evaluation."

AWARE officials maintain that Mr. Hartnett divorces his work with AWARE from his talent consultant business.

(Tomorrow: Confusion and rancor surround even the mention of a TV blacklist.)

[From the New York World-Telegram and Sun, August 12, 1955]

TV BLACKLISTING? HOUSE PROBES CAN'T SOLVE RED RIDDLE IN VIDEO

By Frederick Woltman, staff writer

The blacklisting controversy, television's big headache, is overridden with confusion. The word blacklist itself is a loaded expression, one that only adds chaos to an already mixed-up state of affairs.

On Monday, the House Un-American Activities Committee will begin to unveil concealed Communists on TV and the stage at public hearings here. Worthwhile as that may be, it can do little to resolve the blacklisting dispute in the industry.

Historically, blacklisting meant firing for union activity. By that definition, blacklisting is outlawed by statute and largely abandoned by industry. There is no evidence of this sort of blacklisting in TV.

Many of those who raise the cry of blacklisting in TV—including the Communists themselves—give it this definition: "A viciously un-American practice of keeping people out of TV for political opinions." There's no evidence of this either.

CALLED SUBTERFUGE

Their opponents call the word blacklist a subterfuge. What's really objected to, they say, is "public comment on persons with significant and unrepudiated records of aid to the Communist-front apparatus."

"Unfortunately," one leader in the industry said, "most Communists don't wear the brand. That's been our worst headache."

As a result, in the same network, performers were hired for one show, kept off another. Some sponsors knocked out every suspect at first; others followed more realistic standards for appraising "controversial risks," even setting deadlines before which Red-front connections were discounted.

Still others, at the start, ignored any records except actual party membership which was rare indeed.

PUBLIC POLLED

The industry's early jitters were borne out by a consumers' poll taken by the Ford Foundation's Fund for the Republic.

Asked if they'd fire a Communist radio singer, 63 percent of the public replied, "Yes."

Asked if they'd boycott a brand of soap advertised by a Communist singer, 36 answered in the affirmative—a large enough percentage to scuttle any product.

For a period in the 1930's and early 1940's vocal anti-Reds were discriminated against in radio. There was no organized, set policy; but rather a patronage system by which Red-inclined directors or just plain innocents threw jobs toward artists who hadn't spoken up against communism.

MANY IMPONDERABLES

The business of hiring artists for TV or radio is full of imponderables. Actors are blacklisted every day for varieties of reasons.

"He's not just right for the part" is one. His hair parts wrong for the TV screen. The leading lady's too argumentative. One TV director has a reputation for favoring girls amenable to his advances.

"My agent told me I'm on the blacklist" may be the talent agent's excuse for failing to get his client a job.

An official of the American Federation of Television and Radio Artists (AFL) summed up the blacklist controversy this way:

NO PROOF

"No one can say why a director hires actor A and not B. You just can't prove those things. The agencies and advertisers have a great deal of sympathy for people who lose jobs for insignificant acts.

"Yet, they're all in cutthroat competition. The field is overcrowded and highly competitive. Actors are scrambling for parts. The unemployability of actors was never so bad as it is today in TV. That's the basis of the trouble."

MORE CONFUSION

Another source of confusion is the failure—by the small core of Communists as well as a section of non-Communist artists—to distinguish between political opinion and Communist activities.

The Nation today holds communism to be a conspiracy, not a political party. TV, it would seem, need be under no moral obligation to employ and put before the public any artists who once aided the conspiracy and have made no efforts to clear their records.

The test must be the evidence on each individual: Is it flimsy or does it stand up; is it applied fairly or without caution by the networks and agencies that pass on employability?

TOO SENSITIVE?

One argument has been raised: TV is saddled with security requirements intended for sensitive Government jobs.

One answer is that communications are sensitive, too; and people proved vulnerable to Communist propaganda in the past should not be put in key spots of casting director, program manager, script writer, or star.

The small core of Red artists and their sympathizers in AFTRA help keep the blacklist issue alive. If they faded from the union scene, the reaction against them would soon die.

SELF-ENDING

At the same time, the anti-Red pressure groups are confronted with the law of diminishing returns. As they succeed, they drive themselves out of business. The question remains: Will they stretch a point here and there in order to keep going?

TV's big headache has abated considerably, the industry seems to feel, with the retreat of Senator Joseph R. McCarthy, Republican, of Wisconsin, from the public scene. For this the industry is not unhappy.

"We've always abominated this situation," one TV agency head told this newspaper. "It was a nasty business, cloak-and-dagger stuff. Look how hard it is for the Government, with all its resources, to convict a Communist."

Mr. ARENS. Would you kindly give us, Mr. Woltman, your definition or concept of what blacklisting is?

Mr. WOLTMAN. When I use the word I always say "so-called blacklisting." I don't know what the definition is. I heard Cogley's definition and I heard Mr. Forster's. They are diametrically opposed to each other. According to Forster's definition I have a terrific blacklisting file. The ADL has a terrific blacklisting file. They have one of the best there is. That is a very efficient organization. It deals with Communists. It deals with Fascists particularly, anti-Semites. I am sure that that is the sort of thing that Cogley would regard as a blacklist according to his definition. I would accept Mr. Forster's, of course, which I have. I don't have to repeat it. That is as near as you can come to it. The trouble is when you use the word you confuse everybody. I think the fraudulent nature of this report, the thing that you must object to, is that they use the word "blacklisting." Cogley says there is no other word in the English language. Of course there is. They can call it "discrimination in employment practices." They don't want to do it that way because if they do they can't toss everything into the barrel as they have. Cogley yesterday said blacklisting includes everything, including the failure of or refusal of a bank to rehire a gambler. He also says that we are not casting any aspersions or reaching any conclusions or taking any positions in this matter of blacklisting. Anybody who reads this book and thinks that the situation is nice is just out of his mind. The whole purport of the book of course is that blacklisting is universal and that it is a lousy setup. He includes the refusal of a producer to hire a member of the Communist conspiracy.

Mr. ARENS. By your concept of this discrimination in employment practice, as your prefer to call it, is it reprehensible and unjustified in your judgment for an employer in the entertainment industry to refuse to hire a person who has been identified before a congressional committee by responsible witnesses as a member of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No, except that that is an easy way out. That is not the problem.

Mr. ARENS. When you say no, you mean no, it is not unjustified?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No, of course not.

Mr. ARENS. You think it is justified——

Mr. WOLTMAN. Certainly.

Mr. ARENS. For an employer not to employ a person who has been identified as a member of the Communist conspiracy who seeks an opportunity to work in the entertainment media?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes. I disagree with Mr. Hutchins. I think this is the key to the whole business, that Hutchins' theory of life is that Communists deserve the same kind of consideration as anybody else, because, after all, they are just members of a political party. That is his philosophy.

The CHAIRMAN. Their report practically says that.

Mr. ARENS. Do you believe it is political discrimination for employers to take the list of names of people who have been identified as members of the Communist conspiracy before the House Committee on Un-American Activities and refuse to employ in the entertainment industry those people who have been so identified?

Do you think that is political discrimination?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Of course not. I go along with Mr. Forster on that. I think Mr. Forster confused the issue a little bit because to do that you have to have records. You have to have records to do it properly. Those records might very well be termed "a blacklist" by Cogley. As a matter of fact, they are. That is the blacklist he is talking about. The records in my files, in Forster's files, in Sokolsky's files, and your files, and everybody else's.

Mr. ARENS. Do you think it is political discrimination for an employer to refuse to engage in the entertainment industry a person who has a long record of sympathy and pro-Communist activity in Communist fronts?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I say it is up to the employer to decide, but I also say there is a responsibility on the part of the employer to weigh the situation and to go into it. For instance, there are some firms in New York which have had the policy of eliminating anybody who was on a certain list which was supplied to them without any check. I think that is very reprehensible. On the other hand, the clearance board which they are talking about—Jack Wren, of B. B. D. & O., spends a great deal of his time trying to evaluate charges which are made, accusations which are brought up, and spends as much time clearing, if you want to call it that, as he does establishing the fact that these individuals were Communists.

Mr. ARENS. This word "clearance" means, does it not, rehabilitation?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. ARENS. Are Mr. Wren, Mr. Sokolsky, Mr. Riesel, and yourself engaged primarily in processes of rehabilitation of people who have broken with the conspiracy and are now seeking the good graces of the entertainment industry?

Mr. WOLTMAN. I think they are, but I want to point out that I have been eliminated from their standing. Mr. Forster says that I am separate, that I haven't really been in the clearance business. Mr. Cogley said yesterday that I am not of the status of Mr. Sokolsky. Actually the thing that burns me up about this report is that they dragged me in by the heels. I have had nothing to do with this sort of thing. I think this chapter, without any question, reflects seriously on

the persons who are named in there, and I am sorry that the Anti-Defamation League did not see fit to disavow the conclusions which Cogley drew from the quotes that were attributed to the unnamed public-relations expert a few paragraphs later. I think they could have disavowed that, because I think, personally, that Cogley misused the Anti-Defamation League and misused Forster, and he certainly misused the letter that Mr. Forster sent to me. They probably gave him a peg to hang his hat on, and he ducked right out of the whole thing.

Mr. ARENS. You have the reputation for being an authority in the field of anti-Communist activity and, as the record shows, have been the recipient of outstanding honors because of your contributions in this field. Therefore, I should like to read you a paragraph of the conclusion which appears in volume II of the report of the Fund for the Republic on so-called blacklisting and ask you whether or not this is a fair and truthful and accurate representation of the facts. From page 91 of volume II:

Without access to the chief "clearance men" (who are often the same persons who make the damning indictment), the blacklisted artist can get nowhere. These particular men are all-important. They have the power to wound and the power to heal the wound. They can hold off right-wing criticism, which in turn cuts off pressure on sponsors—

and so forth.

Is that a fair and truthful and accurate representation of the facts?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No, of course not. Certainly not with respect to me and so far as Sokolsky and the others are concerned, not with respect to them at all.

As I say, the reference to those people was intended in this report to smash them. It was based entirely upon the quotes of an anonymous person. We pressed Hutchins for over a week to disclose the name of that person. I am very sorry to see the committee here go out on a limb, as I think it did, in not going further into the question of whether Mr. Cogley should be relieved of the responsibility of disclosing his source. He based his refusal to identify this person on journalistic tradition. Actually any newspaper that proceeded the way Cogley did would be subject to grave criticism. Any newspaper that gets an anonymous tip, an anonymous letter, proceeds to investigate and once in a while they find they get an exposé out of it, but they don't sit back and say, "This is an anonymous letter and we have to depend on it." They get collateral proof. Any newspaper that has a confidential source of information gets collateral proof to confront the person accused and also goes to the person accused to ask for their version of it. This was a completely phony appeal that Cogley made to this committee to excuse him for releasing the only proof he had whatsoever of this. He finally did it because he had a letter to do it on, but I think that you cannot compare that situation with that of a newspaper which published a confidential source but also makes further checks.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, we have covered with this witness all of the points on which we wanted to interrogate him. He has, I am sure, considerable other information on the general subject matter, much of which is included in the articles, and perhaps the committee itself might have some questions.

That will conclude the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions at this time?

Mr. DOYLE. I made notes, Mr. Woltman, just a moment ago. You said "Records in my files, Sokolsky's file, and Jack Wren's file." Do I understand that you have a file of names of people whom you believe were Communists or are Communists?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. You refer to the record in the file?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Since 1937 or 1938 I have been writing about the Communist movement and particularly about Communist fronts and people who get involved. Naturally I keep a file on that. That is very important. I wouldn't be writing if I didn't, which I think is a very laudable thing to do. If I wrote without having a file I would be writing off the top of my head.

My files include many of your products, too.

Mr. DOYLE. Of course. I wanted to get it clearly in my own mind. Mr. Forster testified, as I wrote it down and I think it is the exact language, "I solicited Woltman's advice and did not ask him for help. He offered none."

Did you hear him testify to that?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Mr. DOYLE. Then you said just a minute ago, "We discussed procedures to get people back into the industry."

Mr. WOLTMAN. No, I discussed with Harrington and some members of the Fund staff what was happening in the industry in that respect. I have never discussed with Forster the question of any individual in radio or television who wanted to get back in the industry that I can recall. He agrees with me on that.

Mr. DOYLE. I may have misunderstood.

Mr. WOLTMAN. This was all very informal. He called me. We tried to check on people.

Mr. DOYLE. But you did discuss with Harrington the matter of getting people back into the industry?

Mr. WOLTMAN. The overall problem of people who were Communists and who were involved in the Communist movement and then wanted to be rehabilitated. We discussed that at some length, but there was no discussion of any clearance ring or anything of the sort.

Mr. DOYLE. No; but it was a matter of rehabilitation and getting them back into the industry whether you call it clearance or what you call it, isn't that true?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Certainly. I would like to see that. Anybody who breaks with the Communists ought to get a job, I think.

The CHAIRMAN. We recognize that, I think, in the writing of the new Immigration and Nationality Code. Under the old law if a person was a Communist he was deported. Under the provisions of the "iniquitous" Walter-McCarran Act if, for 5 years he has opposed communism, that period of redemption is considered and his deportation stayed. The same thing is true with respect to the admissibility. Under the old law if a person was a Communist at any time at all he was inadmissible, but under the provisions of the present law if for 5 years he has opposed communism openly in his own country, then he automatically becomes admissible. So it seems to me that there ought to be a way to take into consideration a period of redemption. I think that is basic in our Anglo-Saxon concept. Don't you think that that could be worked out somehow?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Certainly it should and I think it can.

The CHAIRMAN. Not by invoking the fifth amendment or refusing to testify but if a person comes forward and says "Yes." But then we see a strange thing happen. We had Professor Fuchs, of American University, testify here, and, despite positive assurances by the president—the chairman of the board of that university—that the man would not be hurt if he cooperated with this committee, he lost his job and has not been reemployed and unfortunately he is on some sort of a blacklist because he can't get a job as a college professor. That man is being penalized because he aided his Government in this cold war.

Mr. WOLTMAN. May I follow up with a thought. As a result of this report I am sure the guys who are mentioned in there are going to spend less time helping to rehabilitate people—I am talking about Sokolsky and Wren and Riesel and the others—because they were put in a reprehensible light for something which a person like Hutchins should applaud. If it has any effect at all, I am sure it will be to taper off their interest in this sort of business.

The CHAIRMAN. I couldn't agree with you more, Mr. Woltman.

Mr. SCHERER. Mr. Chairman, on many occasions the chairman has written letters to business firms saying that we feel no recrimination should be had against a person who cooperates with this committee and who has broken with the Communist Party.

The CHAIRMAN. Are there any further questions?

Mr. FRAZIER. No questions.

Mr. VELDE. Mr. Woltman, I may have misunderstood you when counsel asked about your opinion as to whether George Sokolsky and Mr. Wren and others were primarily engaged in rehabilitating cooperative witnesses before this committee. I think you answered that they were.

Mr. WOLTMAN. Of course, absolutely. There is no question about that. The report studiously avoids using an expression like that. "Rehabilitate" sounds a little bit nicer than "clearance."

Mr. VELDE. Do you say they are primarily engaged in that?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Oh, no. I am sorry.

Mr. VELDE. I don't know much about the newspaper business—

Mr. WOLTMAN. With respect to the incidents that are alluded to here their object is to rehabilitate people, I think. This is not part of their business or anything like that. Maybe they are sentimental. Maybe they feel sorry for them. I don't know.

Mr. VELDE. Won't you agree with me that their prime objective is to bring the facts concerning communism and other subversive information to the attention of the public, just as you have so ably done?

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes; but also when cases of this sort come up I spend an awful lot of time answering phone calls. "Is Mrs. Roosevelt a Communist?" Then I have to go to a lot of trouble and explain. We get a lot of crackpot calls, and I try to straighten people out so they don't go off on a limb. My paper has given me a standing order if anybody calls to find out if an organization is Communist I should tell them if I think it is and if we are going to print it, and if it is not I should tell them and establish that, too. That is clearance, but this is just a sideline for all of us.

Mr. VELDE. I am very happy to get that point straightened out in my mind. I congratulate you and all the other newspapermen and columnists who have done a noteworthy job of fighting communism in this country.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson?

Mr. JACKSON. Mr. Woltman, in connection with your professional files which you have acquired over this long period of time, have you ever utilized the information in those files to the extent of calling a producer and saying, "You should not hire this individual"?

Mr. WOLTMAN. No. I think my file on radio and television is about that thick, and I have about 10 or 15 drawers.

Mr. ARENS. When you say "about that thick," does that indicate a half-inch or so.

Mr. WOLTMAN. Yes.

Of course not, never. I have warned people. I wrote a letter to Raymond Massey and asked if he know what the Council for American-Soviet Friendship was doing, of which he was sponsor along with a lot of other prominent people, and he immediately resigned.

Mr. JACKSON. That is a matter of calling the individual concerned as distinguished from calling an employer.

Mr. WOLTMAN. Certainly. I wouldn't do anything like that.

Mr. JACKSON. I am a little concerned about your statement that this report is apt to have an adverse effect upon those who have been making a substantial effort to rehabilitate former members of the Communist Party. I certainly hope that that will not come to pass. This committee is under a great debt of gratitude, and I think the country is, Mr. Chairman, for the work that has been done by a great many individuals in trying to get former Communists to come forward and testify. I think some of the finest testimony we ever had was the day we had Dmytryk before us, a man who went to jail for contempt of Congress and broke with the party. Due largely to impetus that was given by interested individuals in the moving-picture industry, he came forward to testify. There are many of them—Dick Collins, Martin Berkeley—people whose testimony would never have been received by the Government had it not been for interested people in their own profession. It would be a very serious matter from the standpoint of investigation, from the standpoint of development of information on the Communist Party, if those who have been active in trying to develop testimony from former Communists were in any way swayed by the contents of this report on blacklisting.

I think a great service has been rendered and I want to add my personal word of congratulations to you on the work that you have done in this connection.

Mr. WOLTMAN. May I say something here. I know it is a fact that this report has put advertising agencies on the spot, where they are going to be much more careful in handling individuals who are accused of being Communists, because they were made the goats in this report. I think most of them have been trying very seriously to be just and fair about it. They made a lot of mistakes at the start, there is no question about that, but this report has put them on a spot for doing something that they ought to do.

The CHAIRMAN. As further evidence of that I was informed today that the requests of the committee for information concerning per-

formers had increased about 25 percent over last month. That is an unusual thing at this time of the year. Some of the people who have studied the sources of these requests attribute it entirely to this report.

Any further questions?

Mr. Woltman, I want to take this opportunity to tell you publicly that you have made a great contribution in this fight for freedom and liberty. I hope that you will continue to bring to the attention of the American people things that people think cannot happen here, but are happening every day.

The committee will stand in recess until 2 o'clock.

(Whereupon, at 12:20 p. m., Wednesday, July 11, 1956, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 2 p. m. the same day.)

AFTERNOON SESSION, WEDNESDAY, JULY 11, 1956

(Committee members present upon reconvening after the noon recess: Representatives Walter, Doyle, Willis, Jackson, and Scherer.)

The CHAIRMAN. The committee will be in order.

Call your witness, Mr. Arens.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. James O'Neil, will you please come forward?

The CHAIRMAN. Do you swear that the testimony you are about to give will be the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth, so help you God?

Mr. O'NEIL. I do.

TESTIMONY OF JAMES F. O'NEIL

Mr. ARENS. Kindly identify yourself by name, residence, and occupation.

Mr. O'NEIL. My name is James F. O'Neil, O'N-e-i-l. I live in Forest Hills, N. Y. I am the publisher of the American Legion magazine.

Mr. ARENS. How long have you been so engaged?

Mr. O'NEIL. Since July 1, 1950.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us, if you will, please, Mr. O'Neil, just a word about your own personal background, with particular reference to your associations with the American Legion.

Mr. O'NEIL. Of course I am a charter member of the American Legion. In 1947 I was privileged and honored to be elected as national commander. For some 11 years I was a member of the National Americanism Commission prior to that time and its chairman 3 years, and its vice chairman 5 years.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in just a word, please, Mr. O'Neil, something of the physical setup of the American Legion from the standpoint of its work in combating and exposing subversion in this Nation.

Mr. O'NEIL. Basically this operation at the national level would be supervised and directed by the National Americanism Commission. Its headquarters is in Indianapolis, where a director and a paid staff are employed. We also have a subsidiary office here in Washington. At the local level of course the posts are very much interested in this problem. Most of all, if not all, have Americanism officers and committees within their posts. This would also move up to the other levels, the county, district, and department level, which would correspond to the State.

Mr. ARENS. What publications does the American Legion issue? I understand you to say you are the publications director of the Legion.

Mr. O'NEIL. No. I am the publisher of the American Legion magazine. That is the national publication, basically the voice of the national commander and the national organization. There are other publications, however, but these do not come under the jurisdiction of the publisher or the publications commission, for whom I work directly.

Mr. ARENS. What publications does the Legion issue which transmit to the membership or to the key officers of the Legion information respecting communism and subversion?

Mr. O'NEIL. In addition to the pages of the American Legion magazine, of course, the Americanism Commission publishes and distributes to key people what is known as the Firing Line, which concerns itself basically with this problem of subversion and infiltration.

Mr. ARENS. Does the American Legion at its Indianapolis headquarters and its Washington headquarters keep abreast of the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee and of other congressional bodies dealing with the question of communism and subversion?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir. I would say that most of the work of the American division in this area is in implementing and supplementing the reports in the area of distribution of the House Un-American Activities Committee and the other committees of Congress and State organizations directly concerned with this problem.

Mr. ARENS. How many local posts are there of the American Legion?

Mr. O'NEIL. 17,362, I believe, as of today.

Mr. ARENS. Approximately what is the membership of the Legion?

Mr. O'NEIL. 2,800,000 as of this morning.

Mr. ARENS. And of the auxiliary?

Mr. O'NEIL. There are 1 million members of the American Legion Auxiliary.

Mr. ARENS. These posts to which you allude are scattered all over the United States and Hawaii and other possessions of the United States, is that correct?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct, and we have some posts in foreign countries as well.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, did the American Legion take cognizance of the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities held in the Hollywood, Calif., area in 1951, respecting subversion and Communist penetration of the motion-picture industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir. The American Legion nationally and through the pages of its magazine commented upon these reports, and they were distributed widely through the American Legion. The American Legion, at many, many meetings had discussed this problem. There have been many resolutions emanating from the national conventions dealing directly with the subject.

Mr. ARENS. In essence what was and what is the position of the American Legion respecting the activity of Communists in the entertainment industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. If I may be permitted, I think it might be well to introduce in the record at this time the resolution adopted by the Legion at its national convention October 15, 16, 17, 18, 1951.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, I respectfully suggest that these resolutions be marked "O'Neil Exhibit No. 1" and incorporated by reference in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. So ordered.

Mr. ARENS. I should like to ask Mr. O'Neil at this time if he would in a word summarize the essence of these various resolutions to which he has alluded.

Mr. O'NEIL. This particular resolution deals with the subject of the entertainment industry and I will only refer to the resolving clauses.

That the American Legion urge all posts, in the interest of national security, to refuse to support such individuals and the productions in which they have a part, and that the officers of such posts shall use all available documental means to properly inform the membership of the activities of such individuals; and be it further

Resolved, That the posts make public the intention of the American Legion to condemn, expose, and combat such individuals wherever and whenever possible * * *.

Mr. ARENS. Who are these "such individuals," please?

Mr. O'NEIL. These would be Communists and Communist sympathizers in the entertainment industry.

Mr. ARENS. I take it that in answer to the principal question which I posed a moment ago, the American Legion position is and has been opposed to the engagement in the entertainment industry of people who are in the Communist conspiracy or who serve the Communist cause; is that correct?

Mr. O'NEIL. Definitely, yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, subsequent to the hearings of the House Committee on Un-American Activities in the Hollywood area respecting Communist penetration of the entertainment industry, did you as an official of the American Legion have occasion to consult and confer with representatives of the motion-picture industry on this question of Communist penetration of the industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes, sir.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us in your own words where and when these consultations transpired and what took place?

Mr. O'NEIL. Initially, as national commander of the American Legion in 1947, I conferred with Mr. Eric Johnston, president of the Motion Picture Producers Association, regarding this problem. At that time he informed me of the great concern which they had and reminded me of the so-called Waldorf declaration and the intention of the motion-picture industry to rid itself of all of those identified with the conspiracy. Subsequently, and as a result of the resolution which I read in part, but not completely, an article appeared in the American Legion magazine of December 1951, a copy of which I have here and which I would like, with your permission, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, to have inserted in the record.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, in view of Mr. O'Neil's request I respectfully suggest that the article appearing in the American Legion Magazine of December 1951, entitled "Did the Movies Really Clean House?" by J. B. Matthews be marked "O'Neil Exhibit No. 2" and be incorporated either in the body or by reference in this record.

Mr. SCHERER. I think we should admit it in the body of the record.
 The CHAIRMAN. Yes. Include it in the body of the record.
 (The article marked "O'Neil Exhibit No. 2" follows:)

O'NEIL EXHIBIT No. 2

DID THE MOVIES REALLY CLEAN HOUSE?

(By J. B. Matthews)

In the summer of 1939, Martin Dies, as chairman of the Special Committee on Un-American Activities, began the investigation and exposure of the Communist infiltration of the motion-picture industry. His efforts were greeted with the customary catcalls from the Communists and other radicals, but time has brought startling confirmation of the testimony of Dies' witnesses.

Eight years later, in October and November of 1947, the Congressional Committee on Un-American Activities again tackled the problem of subversion in the country's major entertainment field, with the result that the so-called Hollywood Ten were eventually jailed for contempt of Congress. Nine others who were subpoenaed did not testify because the hearings were abruptly closed.

In 1951 this same congressional watchdog of the Nation's safety against the Kremlin's criminal conspiracy has moved still farther on the way toward a full exposure of the conspirator's foothold in filmdom.

Without detracting in the slightest degree from whatever credit may be due the congressional investigators, it should be noted that they have revealed little which the motion-picture industry could not have found out for itself years ago—given the will to do so.

In view of all the exposures which have been widely publicized these many years, a lot of Americans would like to know if Hollywood has really cleaned house. To come speedily to the point: The answer is "No."

When the Communists sent V. J. Jerome, John Howard Lawson, and Jeff Kibre into the capital of filmdom, what did they want? To put the matter with all possible brevity, the Communists aimed at four things in their penetration of Hollywood:

- (1) to tap the fantastically high salaries of filmdom in order to fill the treasury of treason;
- (2) to put the touch of glamor upon the ugly face of Communist sedition;
- (3) to smuggle the Communist Party line here and there into the scripts of motion pictures; and
- (4) to capture the labor union and guild organizations of those employed in the industry.

In stating the primary Communist objectives for Hollywood, two things have been deliberately omitted, namely, the enrollment of party members and the recruiting of espionage agents. It is a grave mistake to assume that Hollywood's importance to the Communist conspirators ever encompassed any wholesale enrollment of motion-picture stars either as party members or as espionage agents. It is equally silly to suppose that guys like Albert Maltz or dolls like Anne Revere were ever meant to do the dirty manual work of throwing up barricades in the streets.

So far as Communist Party card-carrying membership is concerned, it probably never exceeded 300 in Hollywood. Richard Collins, one of the few Hollywoodites who has had the moral courage to renounce communism and tell a forthright story about it, estimates that party membership in the film industry is still at 75 percent of its peak strength.

In the 1951 congressional hearings on Communist infiltration of Hollywood, the names of some 200 party members have been disclosed. By far the greater number of these are names which are little known to the movie-going public.

If, to the already exposed and to the still unrevealed Communist Party members, we add the longer list of Hollywood "big names" who have collaborated with Communist Party organizations and enterprises without ever formally joining the party, we have a story of Communist penetration of the film industry which is truly shocking.

Without these "big-name" nonmember collaborators, the vast sums of money could not have been raised to finance the Communist conspiracy, and the seditious activities of the Communist-front organizations could not have been glamorized.

In his courageous mea culpa, published in the Saturday Evening Post, Edward Dmytryk phrased a thought which is important in assaying the damage which hundreds of Hollywoodites have done by their profligate aid to Communist fronts.

"I know now," Dmytryk said, "that you can't aid a Communist front in any way without hurting your own country."

What one segment of Hollywood has done for communism cannot be measured solely by the disclosure in sworn testimony before a congressional committee that some 200 persons in the film industry have been members of the Communist Party. That's only a fraction of the damage.

Year after year, hundreds of Hollywood celebrities bestowed their enormous prestige upon Communist front after Communist front, to the hurt, as Dmytryk bitterly observes, of their own country. It is not enough for them to say now that they were simply "devoted to good causes," and not more than a half dozen have come forward with even that much of an alibi.

Let us consider a few out of the hundreds of Communist fronts and enterprises with which Hollywood "big names" have been affiliated in recent years, discussing them briefly in the following order: (1) Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace; (2) Voice of Freedom Committee; (3) a Variety advertisement attacking the Committee on Un-American Activities; (4) the Brief Amici Curiae submitted to the Supreme Court; (5) Progressive Citizens of America; and (6) Hollywood Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions.

(1) In March 1949, when the cold war was full upon us, the Communists staged what they called the Cultural and Scientific Conference for World Peace at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York City. Among the sponsors of this affair, as plainly labeled subversive as anything could have been, were at least 43 Hollywoodites, 23 of whom have been identified as members of the Communist Party in the 1951 congressional hearings. All of the remaining 20 have records of collaboration with Communist enterprises, and are still in good standing in Hollywood.

Among those whose names were listed as sponsors of the malodorous Waldorf-Astoria gathering were the names of the 1951 top winners of "Oscars" of the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences, namely, Jose Ferrer and Judy Holliday.

The academy, with some 2,000 members who are professionally employed in the film industry, is controlled by a solid bloc of 400. Despite the well-known extensive and substantial aid which both Jose Ferrer and Judy Holliday have rendered Communist-front organizations, they were awarded the academy's highest recognition. Obviously, the academy's controlling members are entirely indifferent to shocking Communist-front-aid records like those of Jose Ferrer and Judy Holliday when they select the recipients of the "Oscars." Let it be underlined that this happened in 1951, not 1941.

(2) As of April 12, 1951, the Voice of Freedom Committee—a notorious Communist front which was thoroughly exposed a long time ago by Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his radio broadcasts—was passing out printed matter which contained the names of Jose Ferrer and Judy Holliday, even including one piece which bore what purported to be facsimiles of their signatures. Dorothy Parker, named as a Communist Party member in sworn testimony, is head of the Voice of Freedom Committee.

Other Hollywood celebrities whose names appeared on the 1951 roster of the Voice of Freedom Committee were Stella Adler, E. Y. Harburg, Zero Mostel, Edward G. Robinson, and Sam Wanamaker.

(3) In all the history of Congress, no other committee has ever been the target of such abuse as that which has been heaped upon the Committee on Un-American Activities. As a sample of this abuse let us review an advertisement in Variety, the bible of the entertainment world, in its issue of October 29, 1947. One hundred sixteen persons from the motion-picture and theatrical world declared in that advertisement that they were "disgusted and outraged" by the hearings which were then being conducted by the Committee on Un-American Activities on the subject of the Communist infiltration of Hollywood. They added: "We hold that these hearings are morally wrong because: Any investigation into the political beliefs of the individual is contrary to the basic principles of our democracy." Whatever their motives or whatever their degree of ignorance, there is no dodging the fact that the signers of the Variety advertisement were "fronting" for the Hollywood Communists.

The true character of the Communist conspiracy with all its ugliness was well known long before these "big-name" entertainers made their attack on the Committee on Un-American Activities. For them to attempt to conceal the nature of that conspiracy by describing it simply as a set of "political beliefs" indicated 1 of 2 things: abysmal ignorance of communism or willful connivance with it.

There were really "big names" from the motion-picture world affixed to the declaration of that Variety advertisement. Among them were Louis Calhern, Norman Corwin, Paul Draper, Jose Ferrer, Henry Fonda, Ava Gardner, John Garfield, Paulette Goddard, Moss Hart, Van Heflin, Lillian Hellman, Paul Henreid, Katharine Hepburn, Judy Holliday, John Houseman, Marsha Hunt, John Huston, Garson Kanin, George S. Kaufman, Elia Kazan, Gene Kelly, Philip Loeb, Myrna Loy, Aline MacMahon, Burgess Meredith, Arthur Miller, William Morris, Jr., Sono Osato, Herman Shumlin, Donald Ogden Stewart, Deems Taylor, Cornel Wilde, and William Wyler.

Hundreds of motion-picture celebrities have taken emphatic and public stands which were either out-and-out pro-Communist or which had the effect of aiding and abetting the Communist conspiracy. With very few exceptions, these same celebrities have not taken a similarly emphatic and public stand against the Communist menace, even to this very day in 1951. No large group of them has taken a full-page advertisement in *Variety* to tell the American people that communism is not simply a set of "political beliefs," that it is on the contrary a malignant force which menaces the very existence of this Nation, and that it is the solemn duty of the Congress of the United States to investigate and expose this menace. If these film celebrities want to reverse their 1947 stand and assure the American people that Hollywood has really cleaned house, they are, of course, at liberty to take another full-page advertisement in *Variety* in an attempt to undo their original mischief.

(4) When the fate of the Hollywood Ten went before the Supreme Court of the United States in October 1949, a group which called itself Cultural Workers in Motion Pictures and Other Arts presented to the Court a brief *amici curiae* in the cases of John Howard Lawson and Dalton Trumbo. Two hundred and eight persons from the motion-picture industry signed this brief on behalf of the Hollywood Ten. Among them were 65 individuals who were named as Communist Party members in sworn testimony before the congressional Committee on Un-American Activities this year.

In addition there were film celebrities, such as Michael Blankfort, Vera Caspary, Charles Chaplin, John Garfield, E. Y. Harburg, Marsha Hunt, John Huston, Garson Kanin, Arthur Kober, Howard Koch, Burt Lancaster, Arthur Miller, Clifford Odets, Sam Wanamaker, and William Wyler. The sum and substance of the brief submitted by these Hollywoodites was the contention that the congressional hearings were simply a crude effort at "thought control."

(5) With respect to communism in Hollywood, it is true that times have changed somewhat. To understand the character of this change, we have only to recall the mass rally of the Progressive Citizens of America which was held in the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles on October 15, 1947. This rally of the PCA was called to give moral and financial support to the unfriendly witnesses who were about to leave for Washington, D. C., in response to subpoenas of the Committee on Un-American Activities.

The PCA was demonstrably a Communist-front organization, and most of the Hollywoodites whom it rallied to its support were members of the Communist Party, some of them having been notorious as such for many years. Despite these facts, an audience of more than 5,000 turned out for this Hollywood pro-Communist event at the Shrine Auditorium 4 years ago. Conspicuous in the auditorium, according to press reports, were Edward G. Robinson, Paulette Goddard, Lionel Stander, Burgess Meredith, Marsha Hunt, Evelyn Keyes, and the "19 unfriendly witnesses," among whom were the subsequently famous Hollywood 10. Gene Kelly was master of ceremonies and Norman Corwin delivered the principal speech. It is possible that no such sizable Communist-controlled rally could be held in Hollywood today, although after Howard DaSilva and Gale Sondergaard returned from the 1951 Washington hearings a rally attended by 700 was held by the arts, sciences, and professions front in their honor.

The Progressive Citizens of America, under whose auspices the 1947 rally was held in the Shrine Auditorium in Los Angeles, had been formed almost a year before by the merger of 2 other Communist-dominated organizations, namely, the National Citizens Political Action Committee and the Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. To anyone who desired to know the political facts of life, the PCA was clearly a Communist enterprise. In the following year, 1948, it launched the presidential candidacy of Henry A. Wallace.

Throughout its relatively short life as a Communist front, the PCA wielded quite an influence among cinema luminaries. A few weeks before the PCA meet-

ing in the Shrine Auditorium the California daily newspaper of the Communist Party ran the following significant Hollywood item: "The PCA has a recent leaflet out featuring John Garfield, Lena Horne, Edward G. Robinson, Anne Revere, George Coulouris, Richard Conte, Gene Kelly, Paul Henreid, Larry Parks, and Betty Garrett—to say nothing of Katharine Hepburn, Paul Draper, Larry Adler, Howard DaSilva, Lee Cobb, Morris Carnovsky, and all the others who are in there pitching on the side of the common man." When the Communist Party's newspaper says you're "in there pitching on the side of the common man," it doesn't mean you're a rank-and-file member of the Democratic Party. It means something else.

(6) Almost the only Communist front now active in Hollywood is the Hollywood Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions—a branch of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. The Communist Party's Daily Worker of June 29, 1951, carried a list of "200 notables" who called for the dismissal of the Federal indictment against W. E. B. DuBois, charged with failing to register as a "foreign agent." The signatures were reportedly obtained by the National Council of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Among the signers were the following persons from the motion-picture world (some of whom have now lost their Hollywood standing); Herbert Biberman, J. Edward Bromberg, Arnaud d'Usseau, Howard Fast, Jay Gorney, Dashiell Hammett, Millard Lampell, John Howard Lawson, Albert Maltz, Earl Robinson, Gale Sondergaard, and Dalton Trumbo.

The personnel and size of the foregoing list clearly indicate that Communist influence in Hollywood is waning insofar as the sponsorship of Communist fronts is concerned. With the growing public awareness of the menace of communism, a lot of Hollywood celebrities and near celebrities, once mired in the slough of communism, are getting box-office religion these days. A much smaller number, hitting the ideological sawdust trail, has experienced genuine repentance and conversion. Others, stubbornly refusing either to confess or repent, have maintained a defiant silence. Some of the latter are in high places in the industry. Although times have changed for the better, the complete house-cleaning job in Hollywood remains to be done.

A review of current films will give us some idea of the extent to which recently exposed Communists and collaborators with Communist fronts are still connected with the production of motion pictures. As this article goes to press, some of these films are still in the shooting stage, others are or have been on the exhibitors' 1951 schedules. Let us consider these pictures by studios.

There are at least nine film releases in these categories from the studios of the 20th Century-Fox Co., to wit:

(1) Wait Till the Sun Shines, Nellie started shooting in Kansas on August 16 with a cast which includes Albert Dekker. Dekker, an actor who became a California State assemblyman, served as master of ceremonies for American Youth for Democracy, which was merely a coverup name for the Young Communist League, and has been affiliated with numerous other Communist projects.

(2) As Young As You Feel, released in June 1951, also included Albert Dekker in its cast.

(3) I Can Get It For You Wholesale, released in July 1951, was written by Abraham Polonsky and directed by Michael Gordon, both of whom have been named as Communist Party members in sworn testimony.

(4) Secret of Convict Lake, released in August 1951, was also directed by Michael Gordon.

(5) Take Care of My Little Girl, released in July 1951, was produced by Julian Blaustein, a signer of the brief amici curiae submitted to the Supreme Court on behalf of the Hollywood Communists.

(6) Half Angel, released in June 1951, was also produced by Julian Blaustein.

(7) The Day the Earth Stood Still, released in September 1951, was produced by Julian Blaustein with a cast which included Sam Jaffe who has been affiliated with not less than 15 Communist fronts.

(8) The Desert Fox, released in October 1951, has a cast which includes Luther Adler whose record of pro-Communist connections goes back 16 years to his associate editorship of New Theatre. Adler also signed the 1947 Variety advertisement which denounced the congressional investigation of communism in Hollywood.

(9) On the Riviera, released in July 1951, costars Danny Kaye who was treasurer of the Communist front known as the Hollywood Independent Citizens Committee of the Arts, Sciences, and Professions. Kaye also defended the

Hollywood Ten as a member of the Committee for the First Amendment and was affiliated with American Youth for Democracy.

Among the current pictures in these categories are at least 11 films from the studios of Columbia Pictures, to wit:

(1) Death of a Salesman entered production on September 10, 1951, under the direction of Laslo Benedek who signed the brief amici curiae. Stanley Kramer, the producer, taught at the Los Angeles Communist training school in 1947. The author of the play, Arthur Miller, has a long record of supporting Communist fronts.

(2) The Marrying Kind, whose shooting began on September 17, 1951, has Judy Holliday in the leading role. A regiment of former FBI men could not wipe out or explain away Miss Holliday's record of supporting Communist fronts, including the Waldorf-Astoria conference and the Variety advertisement.

(3) Fourposter, whose shooting began on September 21, 1951, is directed by Irving Reis who signed the brief amici curiae; and Stanley Kramer is the producer.

(4) Sirocco, released in July 1951, has a cast which includes Lee J. Cobb and Zero Mostel. Cobb has been affiliated with the American Peace Mobilization, the League of American Writers, and the International Labor Defense—all of which have been cited as subversive and Communist by the Attorney General. He was also a sponsor of the infamous Waldorf-Astoria conference. Zero Mostel sponsored the Communist Party's May Day parade, according to the newspaper PM, and was affiliated with American Youth for Democracy, the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee, and the Civil Rights Congress—all on the list of the Attorney General.

(5) Santa Fe, released in July 1951, has Irving Pichel as director. Pichel was an instructor at the Communist Party's training school in Los Angeles, to mention only one of his pro-Communist affiliations.

(6) Two of a Kind was released in July 1951, with a cast which includes Alexander Knox who was an instructor at the Los Angeles training school of the Communist Party.

(7) The Brave Bulls was released in July of this year with Robert Rossen as producer and John Bright as author of the screenplay. Both Rossen and Bright have been named as Communist Party members in sworn testimony.

(8) M, released in the early part of this year, stars Howard Da Silva and Luther Adler. Da Silva has been named as a member of the Communist Party in testimony before the Committee on Un-American Activities. His Communist activities include a lectureship at the Jefferson School of Social Science, party training school in New York City.

(9) The Magic Face was released in September 1951, with Luther Adler in the cast.

(10) Saturday's Hero was released in September 1951, with Sidney Buchman as producer. This film is from Millard Lampell's novel The Hero. Buchman and Lampell are coauthors of the screenplay. In September, Buchman admitted to the congressional committee that he had been a member of the Communist Party for about 7 years, but he refused to reveal the names of fellow Communists. Millard Lampell has a long record of collaboration with Communist enterprises.

(11) The scenario of Emergency Wedding, a 1951 release, was written by Dalton Trumbo, one of the Hollywood Ten. The picture was released while Trumbo was actually incarcerated in a Federal prison under sentence for contempt of Congress.

Emergency Wedding was a remake of an old picture entitled "You Belong to Me." Its release by Columbia Pictures at this particular time, with the name of Dalton Trumbo blazoned on the screen credits while he was serving a jail sentence for his defiance of Congress, raises an interesting question concerning the significance, if any, of the film industry's policy with respect to Communists, as announced at the close of the 2-day session of the Motion Picture Association of America by its president, Eric Johnston, in November 1947. Harry Cohn, head of Columbia Pictures, personally attended that session of the Motion Picture Association and reportedly endorsed its declaration of policy which included the following unequivocal statements:

"We will not knowingly employ a Communist * * *. We will forthwith discharge or suspend without compensation those in our employ, and will not re-employ any of the Hollywood Ten until such time as he is acquitted or has purged himself of contempt and declared under oath that he is not a Communist." Harrison's Reports, a thoroughly independent reporting service on motion pictures,

says very much to the point, "One wonders whether Harry Cohn is fighting the Communists and their fellow travelers or merely tolerating them." Emergency Wedding starred Larry Parks who since, but not before, the release of the picture has confessed his former membership in the Communist Party.

Eight such films, now in production or currently showing, are from the studios of M-G-M to wit:

(1) *Singing in the Rain* entered the production stages on June 18, 1951, with Gene Kelly in the stellar role. Kelly signed the Variety advertisement and was master of ceremonies at the rally of the Progressive Citizens of America which bitterly attacked the investigation of Communists in Hollywood.

(2) *Huckleberry Finn* entered production in October 1951 with a cast which included Gene Kelly and Danny Kaye.

(3) *An American in Paris* was released in September 1951 with Gene Kelly as its star.

(4) *Strictly Dishonorable* was released in July 1951. This picture was produced, directed, and written by Norman Panama and Melvin Frank, both of whom signed the brief *Amici Curiae*.

(5) *Kind Lady* was released in July 1951, with a cast which included Betsy Blair, a signatory of the brief *Amici Curiae*. Edward Chodorov, one of the authors of the screen play, was named as a Communist in the 1951 congressional hearings.

(6) *The Red Badge of Courage* was released in August of this year. It was directed by John Huston who also wrote the screen play. Huston signed the brief *Amici Curiae* and the Variety advertisement.

(7) *Show Boat* was released in July 1951, with Ava Gardner, signer of the Variety advertisement, in a stellar role. The following significant item appeared in the Communist Party's *Daily Worker* of May 27, 1946: "Artie Shaw, noted Hollywood band leader, and Ava Gardner, his screen actress wife, will fly from Los Angeles to be present with Paul Robeson at the National Negro Congress convention." The National Negro Congress was officially cited as a subversive Communist front.

(8) *Go for Broke*, released earlier this year, was directed by Robert Pirosh who signed the brief *Amici Curiae*.

Nine films in these categories are from the studios of United Artists, to wit:

(1) *High Noon*, starring Gary Cooper, an anti-Communist, entered production on September 5, 1951. The film also featured Mary Virginia Farmer, a named Communist, and Howland Chamberlain, both of whom refused to answer the \$64 question before the House committee. The producer is Stanley Kramer; the associate producer is Carl Foreman, a named Communist; and the director is Fred Zinnemann, who signed the brief *Amici Curiae*.

(2) *He Ran All the Way* was released during the past summer. The picture was produced by Bob Roberts and Paul Trivers. It was directed by John Berry; and the scenario was written by Hugo Butler and Guy Endore. All five have been named as Communist Party members in sworn testimony. Shelley Winters, signatory of the brief *Amici Curiae*, is costarred with John Garfield. Despite his close association with Roberts, Trivers, Berry, Butler, and Endore, John Garfield told the congressional committee that he had "never known any Communists during his experience in Hollywood or elsewhere." If it were not so serious in its implications, Garfield's entire testimony before the committee would be one of the funniest "scenarios" of 1951. The photography of *He Ran All the Way* was the work of James Wong Howe, who has been affiliated with at least two Communist fronts which were cited as subversive by the Attorney General.

(3) *The Second Woman* was released in July 1951, with a cast which includes Morris Carnovsky who has been named in sworn testimony as a Communist Party member.

(4) *So Young, So Bad*, a current release of United Artists, was directed by Bernard Vorhaus who also wrote the screenplay. Vorhaus has been named by three witnesses as a member of the Communist Party.

(5) *Pardon My French*, released in August of this year, was also directed by Vorhaus. The screenplay is by Roland Kibbee, another of the 200 Hollywoodites named as Communist Party members in testimony under oath.

(6) *The Men*, a current release, has a cast which includes Dorothy Tree (Mrs. Michael Uris) who with her husband has been named as a member of the Communist Party before the congressional committee.

(7) *The Prowler*, released in May of this year, was directed by Joseph Losey, a signatory of the brief *Amici Curiae*. Its screenplay is by Hugo Butler, named as a Communist Party member. Its leading roles are taken by Van Heflin who

signed the Variety advertisement and by Evelyn Keyes who participated in the rally of the Progressive Citizens of America.

(8) The screenplay of Three Husbands was written by Vera Caspary and Edward Eliscu. The latter was named in sworn testimony as a Communist Party member. Both Vera Caspary and Edward Eliscu signed the "call" of the League of American Writers, a notorious Communist front during the period of the Stalin-Hitler Pact, and both signed the brief Amici Curiae.

(9) The Academy prize-winning Cyrano de Bergerac was directed by named Communist Party member Michael Gordon. Jose Ferrer's stellar role in the picture has already been mentioned.

Universal-International contributed five such pictures to the roster.

(1) Prince Who Was a Thief, released in July 1951, was a vehicle for actor Jeff Corey. He was not only named as a Communist but was an uncooperative witness before the House committee.

(2) Wyoming Mail of 1951 release included Howard Da Silva in the cast.

(3) Abbott and Costello Meet the Invisible Man was written in collaboration by Robert Lees and Frederic I. Rinaldo, both named as party members. On grounds of self-incrimination, Lees refused to answer questions concerning his party affiliation.

(4) Comin' Round the Mountain, another Abbott and Costello release, was also written by Robert Lees and Frederic I. Rinaldo.

(5) The Lady From Texas, an October release, gave Connie Lee Bennett credit as coauthor of the screenplay and included Howard Duff in the cast. Both signed the brief Amici Curiae.

Warner Bros. was apparently hoodwinked into the purchase of a film story, ostensibly written by one J. Redmond Pryor, but actually the product of Lester Cole, one of the convicted Hollywood Ten. Warner Bros. paid \$20,000 for this story, These Many Years. In evidence placed before the congressional committee, it was established that J. Redmond Pryor is the wife of Lester Cole. The agent who handled this transaction for Lester Cole and his wife was none other than George Willner, former managing editor of the Communist Party's New Masses.

Warner Bros. pictures which are currently showing or in the production stage include the following:

(1) The Crimson Pirate, whose production was begun in Italy on July 3, includes Burt Lancaster in its cast. Lancaster signed the brief Amici Curiae.

(2) Streetcar Named Desire was released in July of this year. It was directed by Elia Kazan whose pro-Communist record goes back to the days of his teaching for the New Theatre League 15 years ago. The cast includes Marlon Brando who sponsored the Waldorf-Astoria Conference.

(3) The Flame and the Arrow, another current Warner Bros. release, was written by Waldo Salt who has been placed in the membership of the Communist Party by competent testimony.

(4) Come Fill the Cup, released in October of this year, was written by Ivan Goff and Ben Roberts, both signatories of the brief Amici Curiae.

(5) Tomorrow Is Another Day, released in September, was written by Guy Endore who has been named as a Communist Party member.

(6) Painting the Clouds With Sunshine is an October release whose coauthor is Roland Kibbee, named as a party member.

It is only fair to call attention to the fact that Warner Bros. also produced the recent and deservedly successful anti-Communist film, I Was a Communist for the FBI, which effectively depicts the grueling 9-year assignment of Matt Cvetic as an undercover FBI agent in the Communist Party.

Paramount Pictures has three current or forthcoming releases of the kind we have been describing, to wit:

(1) Somebody Loves Me, which started shooting on August 27, was directed by Irving Brecher who signed the brief Amici Curiae.

(2) Detective Story, a November release, was produced by William Wyler who signed the 1947 Variety advertisement and the brief Amici Curiae on behalf of the Hollywood Ten and gave support to the Waldorf-Astoria Conference.

(3) Shelley Winters, signer of the brief Amici Curiae, appeared in A Place in the Sun, released in September. Anne Revere, identified in testimony as a Communist Party member, plays the role of the mother.

It is noteworthy that the self-same issue of the Communist Party newspaper which touted the Hollywood stooges of the Progressive Citizens of America, already mentioned, also performed a remarkable historical service, quite by

inadvertence to be sure, in listing the names of Hollywood notables who were not "in there pitching for the common man," namely, Ginger Rogers, Robert Montgomery, Adolphe Menjou, George Murphy, Walt Disney, Charles Brackett, Morrie Ryskind, Leo McCarey, and Ida R. Koverman. It is hardly necessary to point out that this inadvertently compiled honor roll of Americans in Hollywood was far from complete. To it we should add the names of hundreds of Hollywood celebrities who never at any time in their careers have had any truck with communism and have been actively in opposition to it when it was stylish to flirt with treason. At the risk of unwittingly omitting some of the best anti-Communist fighters in Hollywood, let us add to the Daily Worker's list the following names of good Americans in filmdom: John Wayne, Charles Coburn, Roy Brewer, Ward Bond, Bob Arthur, John Ford, Clark Gable, the late lamented and irreplaceable James K. McGuinness, Fred Niblo, Jr., Pat O'Brien, Lela Rogers (mother of Ginger), Robert Taylor, and the late Sam Wood.

The Communist cell in the celluloid capital has never outnumbered the American contingent. The Hollywood Ten have never, except perhaps in news value, been as important as the Hollywood 10,000 loyal Americans in the motion-picture industry. These things must be said in any discussion of communism in Hollywood in order to make it clear that no one intends or wishes to indict a whole industry for the sins of a minority.

On the other hand, no good is to be derived from minimizing the foothold which communism gained and still possesses among those who make our films. With varying degrees of success, all four of the major aims of the Communists in Hollywood were achieved: (1) Hollywood was "milked" for vast sums of money; (2) Communist causes and fronts were glamorized by Hollywood celebrities; (3) the extent to which the Communist Party line was smuggled into the scripts of films is debatable. Certainly, such pictures as *Song of Russia*, *Mission to Moscow*, and *North Star* were saturated with pro-Kremlin propaganda. (4) The Communists for years controlled the Screen Writers Guild, even during the incumbency of the self-proclaimed anti-Communist, Emmet Lavery. The failure of the Communists to capture the Hollywood unions took vigorous fighting on the part of loyal Americans like Roy Brewer in the labor movement.

The congressional committee has made a beginning in exposing and investigating the Communists in Hollywood. And, through the Motion Picture Association, the large motion-picture companies have announced the policy of not employing known Communists. A few people named as Communists have lost their jobs. The weakness of the Motion Picture Association policy seems to be the reluctance of the producers to inform themselves about the apparatus and ways of communism in Hollywood. As one witness before the House committee declared, they are "allergic to finding out about it." The "allergy," of course, is partly economic.

Only an aroused public opinion is likely to exert the necessary pressure to cleanse Hollywood of all Communist influence.

Mr. O'NEIL. This article is entitled "Did the Movies Really Clean House?" and was a direct result, as I stated before, of the resolution adopted at the Miami convention in 1951. This particular article, I believe, is referred to in the so-called Cogley report.

Following the appearance of this article, the motion-picture studio representatives and officials invited the national commander of the American Legion—then Donald R. Wilson—to meet with them. Such a meeting took place in this city, in Washington, on March 31, 1952. At that time they made reference to the article, and we discussed—

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, could I interrupt you a moment there, because I think you are omitting an element that I would like to see developed here. Who represented the American Legion in that meeting?

Mr. O'NEIL. Donald R. Wilson, who was then the national commander, and myself.

Mr. ARENS. Do you recall who represented the motion-picture industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. I took some notes at that time, and I have them here. At that session were Nicholas M. Schenck, then president of Loew's,

Inc.; Spyros Skouras as president of 20th Century-Fox; Barney Balaban, president of Paramount Pictures; Y. Frank Freeman, vice president of Paramount Pictures; Samuel Schneider, vice president of Warner Bros.; John O'Connor, vice president of Universal Pictures; Nate Spingold, vice president of Columbia Pictures; Theodore Black, general counsel, Republic Pictures; William H. Clark, treasurer of RKO, and Mr. Eric Johnston, presiding

Mr. ARENS. Had the motion-picture industry issued the so-called Waldorf declaration or statement prior to the time that this meeting took place?

Mr. O'NEIL. Oh, yes. That occurred in 1947.

Mr. ARENS. Tell us just in summary form the essence of the Waldorf statement.

Mr. O'NEIL. The Waldorf statement, of course, dealt with the Hollywood Ten primarily on the basis that they were being dismissed from the motion-picture industry as employees.

Mr. ARENS. Didn't the Waldorf statement also contain a pledge or a statement or a commitment by the industry that it would not knowingly employ people who were in the Communist apparatus?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct.

Mr. ARENS. Will you kindly proceed, Mr. O'Neil, and tell us what transpired and the decisions which were reached at the meeting of the representatives of the motion-picture industry and of the Legion, which took place in 1952 in Washington.

Mr. O'NEIL. At that time there was posed the problem of people within the industry who were finding themselves in difficulty because of their associations. Some of these people had appeared or could appear before a congressional committee or a State agency and in essence clear themselves. May I state at this point that the American Legion has never recognized itself as being an organization which could engage in the activity of clearance. We have assumed that the only way in which a person could be cleared was for the person to clear himself or herself by a repudiation before a properly constituted body or the issuance of a statement. The problem which was posed to the American Legion and the representatives of the studio because they were not—

Mr. ARENS. Excuse me, Mr. O'Neil, since you anticipated an area of interrogation, perhaps I had better ask you right now, Are you or have you ever been a self-styled clearance man within the industry?

Mr. O'NEIL. Definitely not.

Mr. ARENS. Have you ever been one of these men alluded to on page 91 of volume II of the Fund for the Republic's blacklisting report who bring damning indictments and then exercise the power to heal the wound.

Mr. O'NEIL. I would have to give the flat lie to the statement of bringing damning indictments or trying to heal wounds on that basis. I would say, however, that the American Legion has made a major contribution in helping to reestablish a climate of employment for the innocent, the stupid, and the repentant guilty in the entertainment industry, principally in Hollywood.

Mr. ARENS. Perhaps we can come back to that subject a little later. If you will just proceed now, please, with the meeting in March of 1952.

Mr. O'NEIL. There was posed to us, as I was saying, the problem, in which the representatives of the studios sought our assistance, of

those people who could not find a forum. In other words, it isn't everybody who can get himself before a regularly constituted body because of the time element to make a statement answering allegations relative to associations. During these meetings—my recollection is that Spyros Skouras was the man who raised the question—the so-called letterwriting operation was mentioned. Mr. Skouras said that there was an individual, whose name I do not recall, connected with Twentieth Century either as an employee or as a prospective employee who had been cited and who in his estimation had written a letter which he considered to be a method of clearance. He asked the question if the American Legion would recognize such an activity as being in the area of clearing oneself. As I recall, the national commander stated that that certainly could be considered a method. Later the American Legion offered its facilities for the distribution of such letters if such a program was inaugurated or instituted by the studios.

I know that there were many people in the motion-picture industry who took advantage of this situation by volunteering to make the statement in the beginning and agreeing to its distribution.

The American Legion placed itself at the disposal of the studios for the distribution of this material to the posts and to the Legion in general in an effort to rehabilitate these individuals. Of course "rehabilitation" is probably the better word for what I said at the outset regarding this particular activity.

Mr. ARENS. Did you regard the activities of the Legion in that respect as a political activity or a political clearance or a political screening?

Mr. O'NEIL. Definitely not.

Mr. ARENS. You know, of course, that is the phraseology which is used in the report with respect to the activities of such groups as the Legion in this regard.

Mr. O'NEIL. Unfortunately, I haven't had the benefit of reading this report in its entirety. We couldn't obtain a report. One was loaned to me, and I had to return it so quickly that I only had an opportunity to give it cursory examination. However, I would again repeat the fact that this certainly is a distortion, if not a deliberate untruth.

Mr. ARENS. What is a distortion if not a deliberate untruth?

Mr. O'NEIL. The impression that we were engaged, first of all, in damning individuals and, secondly, participating in any clearance activity.

Mr. ARENS. Did you feel that you were doing anything unjust, reprehensible, or un-American in undertaking to preclude from employment in the American entertainment industry people who had been identified under oath before the House Committee on Un-American Activities as members of the Communist conspiracy?

Mr. O'NEIL. Certainly not, because that had been the position established by the American Legion in national convention.

Mr. ARENS. Did you think that was deserving of the odious epithet "blacklisting"?

Mr. O'NEIL. I don't know what you mean by blacklisting, No. 1, but the industry had determined that problem, Mr. Arens, by announcing not only to us in meeting assembled but in public statements that they would not employ Communists or they would not employ those who had taken refuge in the fifth amendment.

Mr. ARENS. Proceed, if you please.

Mr. O'NEIL. Returning to the meeting of March 31, 1952, as I stated the so-called letterwriting campaign emanated from that and, as the publisher of the magazine, I became involved in the distribution of the letters to the American Legion nationally and at the local level.

I think many of you recognize that the American Legion posts and departments are autonomous organizations. In other words, in most areas they have rights unto themselves. Certainly because of many of the statements which had been produced and the revelations of this committee, legionnaires at the local level were very much concerned with the problem of Communist and Communist sympathizers appearing in films or in entertainment as such, public entertainment.

Many of them made inquiries of the national organizations as to the individuals involved. The letters, of course, became an important factor in their evaluation of the problem as it related to their own posts or to their own departments. We considered it to be a very vital factor in the rehabilitation of many people who became involved, as I say, innocently or even stupidly in the Communist apparatus.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, does that conclude your observations on your meeting?

Mr. O'NEIL. On the meeting of March 31, that is correct. There was a subsequent meeting held in New York attended by some of these men but not all of them, but I didn't participate in that except very briefly.

Mr. ARENS. Were you approached at any time by representatives of the Fund for the Republic and interrogated respecting the subject matter of so-called blacklisting?

Mr. O'NEIL. The only time that anybody came to see me with possible reference to this was a man named Engberg. I never met Mr. Cogley. I wouldn't know Mr. Cogley if he came into the room. A Mr. Edward Engberg, who later identified himself as a research associate connected with an entertainment project. Our meeting was very brief.

Mr. ARENS. Did he at any time identify himself as a representative of the Fund for the Republic?

Mr. O'NEIL. Oh, yes. His card indicated that, which he gave me as he was leaving. [Reading:]

Fund for the Republic, Edward Engberg, research associate, entertainment project. New York City.

I took this right off the card.

Mr. ARENS. What transpired in your interview with Mr. Engberg?

Mr. O'NEIL. At that time he indicated that he wanted to discuss Hollywood with me. I said "In what respect, Mr. Engberg?" He said "Do actors and actresses and others identified or associated with the industry come here and talk with you?" There have been some. I said, "What would be the nature of your inquiry as it related to what transpired in this office?"

He didn't make himself quite clear in that respect. I told him that I considered this invasion of the privacy of my office in that he was not associated with any governmental body or any governmental organization and that what transpired in the office as it related to any conversations which I might have had with anybody I considered a matter of privacy unless he could be more specific. That ended the

interview, and that is the only discussion which we had. That is all that I have ever discussed with anybody associated with the Fund for the Republic.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, on page 89 of volume II of the report of the Fund for the Republic, we find the following:

A New York public-relations expert who has guided more than a dozen once-blacklisted performers to the "right people" explained his role this way:

It tells about what all he does. He says this:

Somewhere along the line I may find George Sokolsky involved. I go to him and tell him that the Legion official—

whom he has previously talked to about this thing—

thinks this boy is all right.

In the course of the hearings here the last day or so it has been developed that this New York public relations expert alluded to is a man by the name of Arnold Forster, who testified this morning, and who I might say parenthetically qualified considerably the language which appears in here attributed to him. Did Arnold Forster on any occasion ever come to you and solicit your cooperation in a clearance procedure?

Mr. O'NEIL. Never in any clearance procedure, Mr. Arens. My recollection is that Mr. Arnold Forster called me on one occasion and the individual with whom he was concerned I just can't recall. At any rate, I did set out the yardstick established by the American Legion National Executive Committee on May 4, 1951, as it related to individuals who might have become involved.

On that occasion, as I recall it, my advice to him was along that line, that if he was interested in an individual who had become involved that that individual ought first to contact the FBI. Secondly, if it was possible he should be called by the House Un-American Activities Committee, particularly if he had been identified, where he would have an opportunity to explain his position. If he was employed or had a prospective employer and there were some allegations against him in the public record, then he should try to make an explanation of them to the prospective employer or the employer in keeping with the letter-writing campaign which had been pretty much accepted as an operation within the studios themselves.

Mr. ARENS. Has the American Legion made an official pronouncement in response to the allegations involving it the last few days which have appeared in the so-called Cogley report?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes. On July 2, 1956, J. Addington Wagner, the national commander of the American Legion, issued an open letter to the entertainment industry in which in essence is the official reaction of the American Legion to the Cogley report. I have that here.

Mr. ARENS. I respectfully suggest, Mr. Chairman, this document be marked "O'Neil Exhibit No. 3" and incorporated in the body of the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be so marked and made a part of the record. (The document referred to follows:)

O'NEIL EXHIBIT No. 3

OPEN LETTER TO THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY, JULY 2, 1956, FROM J. ADDINGTON WAGNER, NATIONAL COMMANDER OF THE AMERICAN LEGION, BATTLE CREEK, MICH.

The Fund for the Republic recently announced with much fanfare a report dealing with alleged "blacklisting" in the entertainment industry. Hundreds of pages of this report are filled with material that is supposed to show how people in various fields of entertainment, and people and organizations outside the entertainment field, have, in effect, conspired to have people fired from their jobs because of Communist or Communist-front affiliations.

This report is a matter of the utmost importance to you, as it is to the American Legion, which has also been criticized in its pages. It came as no surprise to find ourselves singled out for criticism, because we have always opposed the employment of Communists and Communist sympathizers in the theater, motion pictures, radio, or television. Nor should it be surprising to find the Fund for the Republic attacking the entertainment industry for trying to discourage Communists and Communist sympathizers anxious to work in this strategic field.

You might say that this report is an extension of the thinking of Robert Maynard Hutchins, president of the Fund for the Republic. Testifying before a congressional subcommittee a few years ago when he was head of the University of Chicago, Hutchins made the surprising admission that despite a commotion on his campus over Communists there, he was "uninstructed" on this vital subject. Only a few weeks ago, on a television program, he made an even more startling admission, that he would knowingly hire a Communist who was competent to do a particular job. Proving that Hutchins means this, Earl Browder has been gainfully employed on one of the many projects spawned by the Hutchins-run Fund, and his operation has employed others with records of affiliation with Communist fronts.

It is only reasonable to assume that a man who would knowingly hire a Communist in the year 1956 would find nothing wrong in giving Communists jobs in entertainment. He would obviously not understand the particular advantage such untrustworthy people would enjoy in such jobs, and how such people would certainly exploit such jobs to the detriment of the American people and their Government. He would not understand these things despite all the evidence, for the simple reason that Dr. Hutchins is not only uninstructed on the subject of communism but his mind seems to be impervious to any understanding of the Communist menace.

Obviously such a man cannot help feeling that if a Communist or a Communist stooge or sympathizer is fired, the person who causes such a person to be discharged is ipso facto at fault, regardless of the facts.

This thinking, through some sort of osmosis, has been carried into the report on blacklisting, just as it seems to have penetrated into all the projects of the Fund for the Republic dealing with communism. The line is that the Communist is a poor, misguided person who is more sinned against than sinning. The real culprit, beyond redemption, is the person who dares to point a finger at any member of the Communist conspiracy.

However, while the foregoing is a matter of record, it is somewhat beside the point in this instance. Actually, everyone seems to have missed the point that should have been the first thing established in talking about Communists in the entertainment field. Those who prepared the report missed it, and up to now no one seems to have given it a thought.

The point is simply this: It is up to the public to decide.

The Fund for the Republic in its report overlooks this elementary fact completely. It goes on the naive assumption that stars are made by officials of motion-picture studios, broadcasting systems, and theatrical producers. It takes hundreds of pages to depict an ingenious picture of cowardly starmakers discarding their creations because wicked and mercenary individuals and organizations frightened them with a sinister kind of blackmail.

This utterly ridiculous and highly melodramatic recital by the Hutchins people is being presented with a straight face to the American public, and in view of that it is likely to be accepted as factual.

It is hardly necessary to explain to anyone with the least understanding of show business how silly this is. Those who know show business realize that the motion-picture producer or the radio-TV director can only give the performer an audience. From that time on, it's up to the performer. If he makes good and becomes a star, the public rewards him, and usually the rewards are

great. When the performer no longer pleases the public he goes into eclipse, and there isn't much that the people who run show business can do about it.

This is so basic that even Hutchins' "experts" ought to know it. And there's something else they ought to know. Just as the public can make a star overnight, it can break him just as quickly. Further, it can do this for reasons that have nothing whatsoever to do with his ability as a performer. Possibly this proprietary attitude can be explained by the fact that the public feels it pays its performers well enough to expect certain standards even in the performer's private life. In any case, the public has a rather frightening way of turning on those who betray their trust or who offend common ideals of morality, decency, or loyalty.

Everyone knows that because of this the motion-picture industry years ago had to clean house of a vicious element and establish a code of decency. When it established its code, which incidentally called for certain personal standards of decency, and hired Will Hays to see that it was enforced, press and public joined in acclaiming the move. We don't recall that any early-day funds denounced this as a violation of civil rights or liberties.

Today we are locked in a death struggle with communism, and for years the agents of this criminal conspiracy have been infiltrating every agency which reaches and influences the public. One of the major targets of these conspirators has been the entertainment industry, and there is much evidence to show the inroads these people made. Yet when the industry started moving against these traitors and their stooges there was opposition on every hand. The cry was "Hands off." This did not come from the public, of course, but from people in high places who are always myopic in the presence of subversion.

Despite this opposition, the entertainment industry did go ahead and it did make progress in cleaning out nests of Communists and commie-minded people who had moved in on them. It was able to do this, not because of people like Robert Maynard Hutchins, of course, but because the American public were being alerted to the Red records of many entertainers, and they didn't like what the records proved. The American people made it plain that they wanted no Communist sympathizers as their stars. The Charlie Chaplins and others more or less silently slipped away.

People who think like Hutchins have condemned the American Legion for its part in all this, but what was our part? All we did was read the legal, official records concerning these people. The records were written not by us but by them. For this we certainly have no apologies to make. As a matter of fact, the only apologies that seem to be in order are from those who made a handsome living from generous Americans, while advancing the cause of our Communist enemies. You don't hear many apologies or explanations from people of that ilk, whose treachery is exceeded only by their arrogance. Nor may we expect to hear any apologies from the Hutchins camp. Instead they persist in exposing not communism but their own abysmal ignorance of communism. And that ignorance jeopardizes all America.

But where do we go from here? You may be sure that the so-called report on blacklisting will not remain a museum piece. Hutchins will break out some more of his tax-exempt millions to plug this particular masterpiece, and soon you will find powerful voices raised in its behalf. The book will be employed as a lever to force the entertainment industry to hire back all those Reds and pinks whose records once before made them a liability to the industry as well as to the Nation. It won't matter much whether or not these people have any talent—the fact that they are not good Americans will give them some sort of right to a job if not stardom. This, in the Hutchins lexicon, is "civil liberties."

That will be the aim, but let's not overlook the American public, as the Hutchins people did. They'll make the final decision, and you may be sure they won't participate in the creation of any Red stars. The point, which continues to escape the people who run the Fund for the Republic, is that not many Americans share Dr. Hutchins' sublime tolerance for Communists.

If it be so minded, the entertainment industry need pay no attention to the Communist-serving report prepared by the Fund for the Republic. Indeed, since the Fund itself disavows the report, there is no reason whatsoever why anyone should take it seriously. The job of keeping Communists and Communist sympathizers out of a key communications area can be continued and, where necessary, accelerated. For, while progress has been made in this work, the job is by no means complete.

The American people certainly will not stand for any letdown, despite the propaganda that may be distilled from the Hutchins report. All branches of show business have been placed in an awkward position by this report since, like all Fund for the Republic projects, it purports to prove that an honest effort to expose and eliminate Communists is a vicious form of persecution.

However, we wish to assure you that you can count on the cooperation of the American Legion in fighting this kind of propaganda. We believe that the American public should be permitted to retain their traditional freedom of choice when it comes to selecting the kind of people who will entertain them, and that the choice should not be dictated by the Fund for the Republic acting as the devil's disciple for people with malodorous backgrounds.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, is there another publication of the American Legion to which you care to allude in your testimony?

Mr. O'NEIL. In May 1953—I would like to say at this point that in many of the activities as it related to the American Legion on this particular problem, the managing editor of the American Legion magazine, Mr. Robert B. Pitkin, participated. In the May 1953 issue he wrote an article which appeared in that issue, The Movies and the American Legion, which was the followup to the article of December 1951, bringing the American Legion membership up to date on the problem and the American Legion's identification or association with it.

With your permission, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen of the committee, I would also like to have this article inserted in the record.

The CHAIRMAN. Let it be inserted.

(The document referred to, marked "O'Neil Exhibit No. 4," follows:)

O'NEIL EXHIBIT No. 4

[From the American Legion Magazine, May 1953]

AN OVERALL VIEW OF THE DILEMMA THE REDS GAVE HOLLYWOOD, AND OF THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE MOVIES AND THE AMERICAN LEGION

(By Robert B. Pitkin)

In the last year, the American Legion has been linked more closely with events in the Hollywood motion-picture industry than in any previous period.

Twice, in 1952, top (New York) executives of the major film companies met with then National Commander Donald R. Wilson and others to discuss problems created in the movies by more than 15 years of Communist infiltration.

Between the two talks, national representatives of the American Legion, including the present national commander, Lewis K. Gough, visited the west coast studios in May 1952 and exchanged views with the top studio executives and with legal and union leaders in the studios.

The film companies had many reasons for going beyond their own walls to discuss anti-Communist movie operations. Public resentment against communism in the movies was perhaps at its highest in 1952, although the industry had gone to great expense for 5 years to clean house.

In 1947 the major film companies had established a policy of (1) getting rid of all identified and unrepentant Communists, and (2) getting rid of all movie personnel who would not testify frankly on the subject of communism when under oath as witnesses before congressional committees.

That policy was first announced at the Waldorf-Astoria Hotel in New York on November 24 and 25, 1947. It became known as the Waldorf Declaration. The policy was followed after a fashion, though not always promptly.

By 1952, pursuit of the Waldorf policy had cost the industry a minimum of \$1,700,000 in lawsuits, settlements, and reworked or abandoned film properties. However, the movies could scarcely have weathered the storm without it.

So great had been the Communist infiltration before 1947 that no summary can possibly give an idea of it. The person who reads the record finds it hard to believe that it happened in America. Two summaries from the volumes of amazing testimony furnish a slight hint.

First, testimony indicates that the red penetration of the film industry was planned by a Soviet Commissar for Heavy Industry, Michael Aisenstein, doing business in San Francisco in 1934 and 1935 as west coast representative of Amtorg Corp.

According to testimony, early parties in the planning included the Soviet consul in San Francisco, Galkovich; a small group of American "liberals" including Albert Rhys Williams and Ella Winter; at least one west coast CIO organizer, Jeff Kibre, and leftwing intellectuals and "cultural" organizers in New York—including V. J. Jerome and John Howard Lawson, both of whom moved to Hollywood and became prophets of the large "liberal" wing of the Screen Writers Guild.

Second, reams of testimony indicate that the Soviet master plan went steadily forward in the hands of its American sponsors with complete success short of entire domination of the movies for 13 years—from 1934 to 1947. The movement infiltrated the Los Angeles Democratic Party; enlisted hundreds of movie personnel into Communist Party membership; sucked thousands in Hollywood into thinly transparent front "movements" and opportunist causes; molded the tenor of everyday conversation in Hollywood, and produced a bloody struggle for control of the movie labor and craft unions by the Communists.

Only the last step—complete domination of American films—failed. It failed because exposures by the House Un-American Activities Committee and stubborn resistance of the Hollywood AFL film unions forced the Communists to extreme and suicidal steps in 1946-47.

Then, after 13 years, the film industry heads perceived something—but not all—of the degree of infiltration and the danger that the "rule or ruin" Communists presented. Thus the Waldorf declaration. Until then the industry heads had been nearly as ignorant of the truth as the average American.

The exposures of 1947 and the Waldorf policy definitely put communism on the defensive in the movie industry.

But in 1951 and 1952 new congressional investigations shocked the industry and the public. They exposed a vast network of Communist influence in film—dom that had been untouched by the Waldorf policy, and was apparently undreamed of by the industry heads in New York, though it was fairly common knowledge in Hollywood.

When the 1951-52 investigations tapered off, the list of identified Communist Party members in Los Angeles professional circles had risen above 400. Of these, 288 were in the movies—from producer on down. Highest concentration was among the screenwriters. Other film people had escaped subpoena, and the list of studio personnel who "took the fifth amendment" and refused to talk to the point of Communist affiliation when under oath had risen above 70. These revelations shook the American film industry—and touched off a growing, nationwide silent boycott of movie theaters.

In the studios, the new findings greatly enlarged the number of "unemployables" under the Waldorf Declaration so as to include the new-found Communists and defiers of Congress. Some of these drifted to Europe and Latin America to make "American" films abroad and seek a way to distribute them here.

A greater blow to the film industry was the secondary effect of the 1951-52 findings. They showed how inadequate the Waldorf policy had been during its 5 years of existence, even though it had saved the industry.

The Waldorf policy did not identify movie Communists. It called for their removal when and if identified. In 1951-52 a large number of presumably "innocent" ex-Communist frontiers, who had claimed all along that they had been fooled by the Communists, were discovered to be or to have been active party members.

Thus, of 102 screenwriters who signed one pro-Communist petition as "honest liberals speaking up on a matter of civil liberties and a point of constitutional justice," 36 (or 1 in 3) have since been identified as actual Communist Party members, as have the wives of 2 others.

As a result, fewer and fewer paying movie customers were willing to patronize pictures made by any people who had unexplained front records, whether or not they had been proved Communists.

The industry faced a dilemma whose solution was beyond its imagination.

It couldn't force people to attend movies.

On the other hand, it felt it had gone about as far as it could go with a fixed policy that excluded known Communists and "fifth amendmenters." The industry was unwilling to be a court or an FBI to investigate and try its quite

large residue of people who still had some sort of unexplained public association with communism.

As it shrank from becoming a police agency to find the "guilty," the industry was stuck for a way to guarantee to itself or its Main Street customers who the "innocent" were.

To add to the confusion, the leftwing terms "innocent" and "guilty" were widely accepted, when the industry's actual problem was that of acceptability or unacceptability at the box office.

Consequently, the movie industry was over its head in a muddle that is normally alien to the entertainment industry. The muddle was so confused in its nature and terms that it became almost impossible to conduct an intelligent conversation on the subject.

For this a deep bow to the Communists.

In a way, the movies had long held their critics responsible for "stirring up trouble." There had been little difficulty at the box office over communism during the better part of the 17 years from 1934 to 1951, when the Communists were making vast inroads into the movie world. During those years the customers were largely ignorant of what was going on. Until 1947 most of the opposition to the Communists had come from Hollywood's AFL film unions, headed since 1945 by Roy Brewer, and from a small group of militant anti-Communists, typified by such actors as Ward Bond, John Wayne, and Adolphe Menjou, and such screenwriters as the late Jim McGuinness, Adele Buffington, and others.

The American motion-picture industry owes a debt to Roy Brewer, head of the studio lot AFL unions, that it can never repay. A "hayseed" movie house projectionist from Nebraska who had risen in the AFL theatrical workers union, Brewer was assigned to Hollywood in 1945. In less than 11 weeks he perceived what the industry had not seen clearly in 11 years. The fate of American movies lay in a battle in which there would be but one winner—the Communists or the industry.

Brewer was the first person in an official film industry capacity who declared unremitting and organized war with the Communists on their own terms.

It was the resistance to Communist capture of Brewer's AFL unions in 1946-47 that pushed the Communists into open, bloody union warfare in the Los Angeles streets, thus administering the first of a series of shock treatments that began to stir Hollywood out of its suicidal trance of "enlightened liberalism."

Even this did not arouse the movie audiences. Few newspapers clearly reported the fact that the violent strikes of 1946-47 in Hollywood were neither more nor less than open warfare for the Communist control of the movie unions. Or that the unions were the club the Communists intended to use to force the studios to accept the kind of picture content and censorship that the party's screenwriters, directors, and producers were prepared to insist upon.

But after 1947 there was a stirring of public unrest as official Government committees began to pile the facts on the public records. Even then, few moviegoers ever read such hair-raising documents as the six volumes of hearings on Hollywood communism published by Congress for 1951. If moviegoers had been ardent readers of such things, the industry could well have collapsed overnight.

The trouble at the box office began in earnest when such individuals as columnist George Sokolsky and such organizations as the American Legion began to acquaint the public with what was in those documents and what the shouting was all about. Such outside public information programs, broadcasting the official record, stirred up fairly general resentment in Hollywood.

By late 1951, the studios had no answer left except resentment. Revelations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities had undone nearly every public-relations cliché about communism in the movies that had been mimeographed for the newspapers by the studios over 15 years. What wasn't so was so. What was a mere nothing was a big plenty. The reactions in the hinterland was violent.

The national convention of the American Legion in Miami, in 1951, instructed the American Legion magazine to publish all available information on Communist associations of people still employed in the entertainment industry. The demand for such action originated in several States was combined into one resolution and passed unanimously. It was the first time a Legion convention had given such specific instructions to the Legion's magazine.

In its December 1951 issue this magazine published *Did the Movies Really Clean House?*—an article by J. B. Matthews. It was a long listing of associations with Communist movements of people still active in films; of the studios where they worked, and of their current productions. The article brought a

mixed but violent reaction. Some of the studios concurred with the Legion's attitude that this problem related to American security and had to be faced in the open. However, Hollywood "liberal" elements protested that the article was unfair and somehow un-American—although it was dissemination of public information to the public. On at least half the major studio lots, resentment toward the Legion boiled over. Then, sporadically, Legion posts and other local groups began to picket theaters here and there where films involving the questioned personnel were showing.

Late in the winter of 1951-52, the top executives of the major film companies called a halt to the practice of the studios railing at their critics. They stepped in and took the play away from the studio lots. The first thing they asked for was a meeting with the national commander of the American Legion to review the whole mess the Communists had got the movies into.

The meeting was held in Washington, D. C., on March 31, 1952. The then national commander of the Legion, Donald R. Wilson, with 1 aide, met with top-echelon representatives of the 8 major studios, and with Eric Johnston, executive director of the association of the major producing companies. Companies represented were Columbia, MGM, Paramount, Republic, RKO, 20th Century-Fox, Universal, and Warners.

The meeting was inconclusive but fruitful, and became the subject of great speculation in the press. At that meeting, Commander Wilson defined the Legion's interest and policies as those of opposing communism in America. He defined the Legion's method as that of giving the widest possible distribution to (a) information identifying American Communists, and (b) information which seemed strongly to relate people and activities to Communist influence.

He recognized that the path that events had taken was damaging an entire industry. But the Legion would continue its public information program, he said. It was mandated to do so by its conventions, and dedicated to do so by its principles. No proper solution could be found by suppressing the record. This would only perpetuate the immunity to informed public criticism which had permitted the vast Communist penetration of the movies in the first place. If the movies (and the questionable individuals) could achieve a record on communism that would stand the public gaze, then there would be no problem.

While the Legion would not "call off its dogs" just to be a pal, Wilson told the industry heads that the Legion would cooperate in any earnest steps that the movies would take to better their reputation, and the same would apply to any individuals whom the Legion had spotlighted. The emphasis was on "earnest."

If the Legion had been wrong in any of the information it had published, it would welcome any correction that the studios could supply.

These remarks brought out the painful fact that few studios knew much about the actual position of many of their personnel whose names were becoming box-office poison. Many of the film people who had apparent Communist connections protested that they had been publicly cited or named, but had never had a platform from which to answer the allegations, or explain the facts. Nor had the studios given them a platform.

Spyros Skouras, head of 20th Century-Fox, admitted this weakness. His studio was not in a position to defend any of its employees who might have been wronged by public association with Communist movements, because the studio didn't have the facts.

Skouras remarked that he, at least, felt the time had come to give his employees the platform which they sought. He announced that after a recent conference with columnist George Sokolsky he had already begun to get together any and all allegations of Communist connections against his employees, and was inviting them to arm him with a written, signed explanation or denial.

Nate Spingold, of Columbia, said his studio had been doing just that for a year.

Columbia and RKO said they both had considerable information as to which of their employees were in hot water. Republic said it didn't have much of a problem. But every studio welcomed Commander Wilson's invitation to compare notes in the hope of confining the Legion's criticism to personnel whose studios could find no factual defense for them.

For this purpose they requested that the Legion give them all information that it had—large or small—that tended to connect any of their employees with communism.

Any such information would be treated in strictest confidence, and would be seen only by top studio personnel and the actual individuals involved.

With that understanding, Commander Wilson agreed. Before the meeting broke up, the film heads invited Commander Wilson to send a personal representative and a writer from the Legion's magazine to the west coast to talk directly with the studio operating heads.

A few days later an official Legion letter went to the eight major studios. It listed major and minor Communist associations of several hundred artists then employed, and invited the studios to correct the Legion on any matters in which they found the Legion to be in error. This information had been compiled by the Legion from scattered public sources. It applied to film artists who were currently employed or who were connected with current film releases. It later became known as The Legion List, although by that time many other sources had added information to it.

The Legion's covering letter is highly interesting, in view of later developments. It said: "We respectfully request that you check this material for any possible factual errors and make such report to us as you deem proper."

Any use of this material called for delicate handling by the studios. It had been released to them on the theory that a lot of innocent people had gotten bad names without a chance of answering, and that a careful check might enable some or many of them to clear themselves of the slightest suspicion and reduce the serious problem that they and their industry faced.

Almost immediately, it began to look as if it had been a mistake to trust the studios to check on such delicate information. A writer at MGM, Art Cohn, who had a perfectly innocent but unexplained association with a Communist newspaper (the Communists had pirated his copy from a regular Oakland paper) was called into the offices of a vice president at the MGM studio, and came out believing that the Legion had demanded that he be liquidated from the motion-picture industry.

Cohn, in a just rage, wrote letters to Commander Wilson and to Congressmen, inveighing against the Legion's "blacklisting" of him "without attempting to confirm the information." Cohn, a hater of communism, deserved as much as any man a chance to explain to his employers in private conference that the Communists had affiliated him with them by stealing his name and his works.

He could only have gotten the impression that he was being "liquidated" by a crude interview at the hands of the MGM vice president who was charged with the very job of letting Cohn set the record straight.

When Cohn sounded off, Commander Wilson, irked at an apparent misuse of the information, was tempted to call off any further attempts to cooperate with the motion-picture industry. But MGM officials speedily apologized and turned the responsibility for checking the information over to another vice president, Louis K. Sidney—a man of considerable tact, adroitness, competence, and sympathy.

It may have been Cohn, or perhaps others who had been mishandled at the MGM studio before the interviewing was turned over to Sidney, who spread to their fellow employees and the newspapers the MGM studio notion that the Legion had issued a secret blacklist to the motion-picture industry. The story soon spread in Hollywood that the movies were "knuckling under" to the Legion, and were ready to "clean house" of "300 alleged subversives" on the Legion's say-so. From there the yarn went to the national press—with fanciful embroidery—and called forth pious editorials about the rights of men to "face their accusers."

Meanwhile, 6—and later a 7th—of the 8 major studios adopted variations of the Sokolsky-Fox-Columbia plan to give any employee a chance to answer without publicity any discoverable connection in the public record between himself and Communism. To the Legion's collection of small and large facts, the studios added whatever information they could find from any other sources that tended to put their employees under a cloud. This program of the studios was soon known to the press, which inaccurately called it a Legion program.

The program the studios had chosen to follow worked well within its natural limits. It was the first effective plan to help any movie employee who could show and wanted to show that he had innocently become publicly connected with communism.

First, a significant number of the people involved had, like Art Cohn, simple, straightforward answers that put them entirely in the clear of the faintest suspicion of any deliberate connection with communism.

Second, another significant group had at one time, at least half knowingly, been sucked into Communist activities, only to regret it. Of these, many wrote and

signed unmistakably clear statements of where they stood, and frankly described their earlier mistakes.

But probably the greatest measure of the value of the program is to be found in the alarm it created in leftwing camps, and in the desperate measures that were made to sabotage it.

In its June 28, 1952 issue, the magazine *The Nation* published its view that the whole business was a vicious "attack on civil liberties."

One paragraph from *The Nation's* article sets the tone. Said *The Nation*. "Out of the 'appeasement' meeting between the Legion and the industry representatives came a preliminary list of some 300 names, furnished by letter to each studio. *The letter stated that if the studio employed any of the listees, picketing on a national scale would ensue when the picture involving the person's services was released.*" [Our italics.]

Such outright lying in the "defense of civil liberties" could be a measure of *The Nation's* alarm that the program might work.

Anyway, among Hollywood's true victims of Communist finagling the opportunity to go on record was widely welcomed. Signed (and sometimes notarized) letters poured into the studio offices, with such statements as: "A correct understanding of the facts is very important to me." * * * "I recognize that my name has been associated with subversive organizations, and I willingly cite these organizations * * *."

* * * "All of us make mistakes, and I'm happy to explain some of mine. * * *"

* * * "I am glad to have this opportunity to clear my name." * * * "I once felt that the Communist Party had a right to function, and I became associated with the front organizations listed below * * * history has proved that they were based on lies and I disavow all of them."

It was a much smaller group that resented the program. Some of these refused to cooperate, others wrote diatribes against the "inquisition," and a few wrote austere letters that weren't to the point—anything from essays on human rights to long lists of the fine pictures they'd produced and the honors and press notices they'd received.

What was the actual effect? A dozen or so film employees were able to point out that some of the information that damaged them was in error. For the rest the explanations proved nothing conclusively, but made two groups of people out of what had been one vague group. One is the group that was willing to speak up frankly, whom the studios can now defend against public criticism with their own statements. The other is the group which the studios remain powerless to defend, because they have chosen to let the record *as it appears* be the final record.

And there it stands today.

With the Waldorf declaration of 1947 the studios moved against some identified Communists.

With the project of 1952 they offered the "presumed innocent," a platform to state their case.

The Legion's actual part in all this was small, but important. Giving the information that it had was but a convenience. All of the information was available to the studios from other sources. Commander Wilson's actual contribution was to assure the studios that, as a critical and respected public-opinion body, the Legion was not out to harass the industry.

But the Legion played another part that borders on comedy, as a result of misrepresentations in the press. Some daily papers and motion-picture trade journals were only slightly more moderate, and only slightly more truthful than *The Nation* in reporting the events that came out of the Washington meeting of March 31, 1952. *National Variety* and *Daily Variety* (Hollywood) reported repeatedly that the Legion had tendered the studios a blacklist of 300 alleged subversives. *The New York Times* picked up the story. *The New York Post* editorialized that the studios were "knuckling under" to Legion pressure, and the idea was bruited about that the Legion was doing the hiring and firing in the studios and intimidating them with threats.

As a consequence of all this fanfare, the press bestowed upon the Legion a new appearance of importance and power—practically the dictator of personnel of the multi-million-dollar American motion-picture industry.

This was a hard reputation to live up to. Some Hollywood lawyers and independent producers greeted the news they read in the papers with joy. They rushed to the Legion with their clients and employees. They besought the Legion's blessing or threatened dire trouble.

Apparently, for different motives, the fringes of the motion-picture world were anxious for the Legion to be foolish enough to set itself up as Hollywood's official clearance agency.

A prominent Hollywood lawyer wrote to the Legion demanding that a certain studio be required to hire his client, and a budding legal business grew up which claimed to be able to "fix" film folks with the Legion.

An excitable actress who had been out of work for some time rushed to the press with a story blaming the Legion for her decline and threatening all sorts of legal complications for the Legion if she didn't have a job soon.

Unfortunately, hardly anybody in Legion officialdom had ever heard of her.

Eventually, the Legion's New York office became so loaded with calls, mail, and visits for the mistaken purpose of movie hiring that a second meeting was scheduled between Commander Wilson and the film company heads. The meeting was held in New York. It verified the fact that the Legion was not to, and would not, clear movie personnel, or recommend who should and who should not be hired by the studios.

It turned out that there had been no change in the understanding that the studios and the Legion were cooperating in an attempt to help the industry by limiting, as much as the facts would warrant, the area of criticism. In the operations of the studios, and the decisions as to who was publicly acceptable, the studios would continue to go their own individual ways. In the publication of information, the Legion would go its way.

In their own interests, and in the interests of any innocent people involved, both the studios and the Legion now had more and better information, which was especially helpful in protecting the innocent.

Today, there is little more that the studios or the Legion can do in this direction. The studios cannot, and have no obligation to, employ people who are rejected by the public as Communist sympathizers—and a superior court has so found (*RKO v. Paul Jarrico*). The Legion is bound by convention mandate to publish information that indicates Communist connections on the part of people who seek public patronage as entertainers (resolution No. 2, Miami convention, 1951). Commander Wilson's term expired at the end of August 1952, and his successor, National Commander Lewis K. Gough, has reaffirmed the Legion's position.

The subject of Legion picketing of pictures has caused widespread discussion. Contrary to screams from *The Nation*, the Legion's national organization has never once suggested that any post picket any picture. On the other hand, it does not ask posts not to picket. The national organization has no authority over such local decisions.

The national Legion does ask posts to make sure of their facts and to review legal implications before taking such action. It will supply the best available information on picture personalities and their public record on communism to any posts that ask for such information. Depending on its nature, this information may encourage or discourage the post in its action. What happens is a reflection of how the record sits with the folks on Main Street.

It has become somewhat of a fad to protest that any sort of public pressure against an "artist," short of a criminal indictment, is bad as a matter of principle, regardless of one's objection to the "artist."

It is doubtful that arguments based on such principle are made in good faith. One of the first effective examples of pressuring a film artist out of business in Hollywood occurred just before World War II. Hitler's girl photographer, Leni Riefenstahl, was cold-shouldered out of Hollywood, and her movies of the Berlin 1936 Olympics were boycotted out of a successful run in America, without any criminal indictment. The Hollywood community was almost 100 percent for this political boycott, although Miss Riefenstahl's "art" was of the highest. Hollywood liberals still boast of this achievement today. A good thing, too, since the proceeds of a successful run of Fraulein Riefenstahl's films would probably have gone into Hitler's war chest.

The difference in principle, if any, between boycotting an "artist" who fed Hitler's kitty with United States box office receipts, and boycotting those who cannot be trusted not to feed Russia's kitty the same way, has never been put forth.

Part of the public resentment that has ruined Chaplin's *Limelight* as a United States box-office attraction is the utter lack of any assurance that the receipts would not find their way into Communist tills.

The furor over Chaplin obscures the fact that, generally, things are certainly better in Hollywood today. A few years ago, almost any Communist-designed petition could attract the signatures of a host of movie artists. A few months

ago a nationwide Communist petition contained nearly 200 names of college faculty members and clergymen, but not one person currently employed in the movies. The extreme left cries that entertainers have a right to sign such petitions, but are scared out of it by "witchhunters." What is far more significant is that, today, Hollywood knows a Communist petition when it sees one. A lot of trouble would have been saved if that had been true a few years back. American communism can't get very far if it can't find suckers to use and abuse and ruin.

But attempts to fill Communist coffers by exploiting American movie audiences are far from over. Today, in France and Italy, films are being produced for American consumption by native Communists and Red refugees from Hollywood.

In both countries, there are both Communist and non-Communist movie unions. American producing and distributing companies are only beginning to distinguish between the two, and between Communist and non-Communist producers, writers, and directors.

It is a moot question how many informed Americans would want to patronize "American" films made abroad by Communists. Italian labor sources report that 50 percent of the wages of members of the Italian Communist movie unions go into the treasury of the Communists, to be spent in whole or in part for "anti-American activities, propaganda, espionage, etc."

Non-Communists in both France and Italy are in the midst of a fight for the future of their countries to a degree yet unknown in America, and they are appalled at American producers and distributors who do business with the European Communists. United Artists, the major nonproducing United States film distributor, has burned its fingers several times in the foreign-made film field. Now, UA shows signs of extreme wariness but faces a difficult problem.

United Artists does not have direct control over the making of pictures it releases. It has had a few bad recent experiences—some of them prolonged because of contracts previously signed. Now, United Artists announces that it will take a strong position in the future against contracting to release products that may feed Red tills, and will look much more closely into any foreign-made film it handles.

Independent producer John Huston recently expressed resentment at trickery that entangled him personally in Hollywood Communist-front movements in the past. Huston had the disturbing experience of hearing from the mouth of a friend the details of how he had been manipulated. Huston, who sometimes makes movies abroad and releases them through United Artists, announced that he would pursue a tough attitude toward the use of Communists in his foreign-made films. He is reported to be carrying out this promise, in spite of serious scheduling delays, in a film now in production in Italy for United Artists release.

American producers and distributors, with their strong economic position as the gateway to the large American market, can exert a powerful influence against the strength of Communist movie unions and artists abroad.

Italian and French anti-Communist labor unions emphasize that the American distributors should make the distinctions. If the United States public must make the choice, they argue, it will eventually result in bad business in America for all foreign-made films, which will hurt the non-Communists abroad quite as much as the Communists. The European non-Communists agree with hundreds of thousands of Americans that there is one matter of principle that counts above all others in this tangled business. That is that men and women of the free world have a right to a highly positive assurance, with no maybes about it, that the money they spend in idle entertainment will not be used in any way to foment their own destruction.

This principle has never been challenged except by changing the subject.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. O'Neil, are there any other observations, comments or information which you would like to call to the attention of the committee?

I understand you to say you have not had an opportunity to study the report yourself personally, but that you have at least glanced through certain parts of it.

Mr. O'NEIL. No. I think that would cover as much as I know about the situation, Mr. Chairman and gentlemen. Of course I recognize that there may be some things in this report with which I am not

familiar. On the other hand, I think I have made it very plain that the American Legion has never been engaged in clearance activities, that it has never been associated in any manner with any so-called blacklisting.

Mr. ARENS. Has the American Legion ever apologized or does it apologize today for undertaking to preclude from the entertainment industry people who are in the Communist apparatus?

Mr. O'NEIL. No; definitely not; definitely not. Certainly I could not arrogate to myself any powers that the American Legion would not take for itself. So I must give the flat lie to any clearance statements or allegations made in any report.

Mr. ARENS. Mr. Chairman, that concludes the staff interrogation of this witness.

The CHAIRMAN. Has the Legion taken any position with respect to the employment of Gale Sondergaard in Philadelphia?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes; they have, Mr. Chairman. I believe at the local level they have. From what I have read in the press, the Legion protested her appearance on the program in Philadelphia, and certainly this would be in keeping with the resolution adopted by the national convention because of her identification with the Communist apparatus.

The CHAIRMAN. I might say that Miss Sondergaard has been identified by perhaps a dozen witnesses as a member of the Communist Party. That has been a matter of public knowledge. It was not a case of blacklisting which prevented her from being employed or that caused any great protest against her employment. It was her own conduct.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct, Mr. Chairman. I would say in all these matters that fall within the area of public opinion largely as to how the public is going to react, what the American Legion has attempted to do is to present the facts to the public regarding the public records of these individuals. I do know that in Philadelphia they have protested her appearance on that basis.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Doyle, have you any questions?

Mr. DOYLE. Yes.

I am another who has not as yet had the benefit of having a copy of the Cogley report in my hands long enough to read it, so the few questions that I ask you are in the absence of that advantage. I have read 4 or 5 pages of the report.

Mr. O'NEIL. We are on common grounds, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. I didn't have a chance yesterday to read more than 4 or 5 pages.

I did make a note here with reference to Mr. Forster. He was asked by counsel about Mr. Woltman, Mr. Wren, Mr. Sokolsky, and you, the American Legion, and Mr. Forster said, as I wrote it down, "From where I sit these people were doing good." I think those are his exact words. Mr. Forster included your name in the 4 or 5 that he complimented.

Mr. O'NEIL. I am very grateful to Mr. Forster for that because we definitely thought we were doing a good work.

Mr. DOYLE. He included you in the 4 or 5 and he stated that—I wrote it down at the time because I had never met you—"from where I sit these people are doing good."

That included the Legion and he named you, as I recall it.

What year did this letter-writing campaign begin, this rehabilitation? I think once or twice you called it a clearance letter.

Mr. O'NEIL. No, I didn't refer to it as a clearance letter. It was a rehabilitation project. It was an effort on the part of the individuals to clear themselves.

Mr. DOYLE. What year did it begin?

Mr. O'NEIL. 1952, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. In how many cases have such letters been used so far as you know, to the knowledge of the Legion, by individuals in the industry as long as you were the channel through which these letters went? No doubt you have some information on that.

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say it was 100 or less, Mr. Congressman. I would say it was less than 100.

Mr. DOYLE. How did these individuals come to the Legion? Through what channel did they come to the Legion to get the cooperation of the Legion in the use of these rehabilitation letters? How did they get to you?

Mr. O'NEIL. The letters were first written to their employer or prospective employer, and with the permission of the individual those letters were made available to the American Legion. That is how they came to us. In other words, they came to us from the employer or the prospective employer. They were distributed to others besides the American Legion.

Mr. DOYLE. In other words, this was an original letter written by the person involved who was in the industry or wanted to get back into it, to the employer, and then the employer forwarded it to your office?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Then what did you do?

Mr. O'NEIL. We made these available, Mr. Congressman, to local posts where a situation might arise regarding a particular picture which was appearing with somebody who had been cited in the public record. This was the answer of that person to the allegations and, so far as we could make out, it was the only opportunity that the person had to answer because there was no other avenue open to him.

This was made available to the local posts so that they could evaluate the situation based upon the public record and the person's reply to it.

Mr. DOYLE. Do I understand, then, that the original letter from the person involved to the employer went to the local posts? Did the original letter to the employer go out to the local posts? How did you function?

Mr. O'NEIL. They were copies of the original letters, of course. Insofar as that operation was concerned, going to the local posts, I would say very few went to the local posts, because the instances of a situation arising involving such individuals would be relatively few in number. Copies of those letters went out so they could be evaluated by the local people because they had the autonomous power to do what they wanted about a protest.

Mr. DOYLE. When the local post functioned, did the local post then report back to your office or with whom did they operate?

Mr. O'NEIL. They made no report. We would find it out. Generally speaking I would say that the letters proved satisfactory to the local

posts. I don't recall any instance, Mr. Congressman, where a letter as such didn't satisfy whatever questions had arisen in the minds of the local posts regarding the particular picture or the entertainer, the producer, or the writer.

Mr. DOYLE. I want to assure you that my whole purpose in questioning you is to learn the facts, whatever they are.

Mr. O'NEIL. I am trying to be as helpful as I can.

Mr. DOYLE. This is not to be critical, but I do feel there is an area of absence of procedure so far in the record as to how you functioned, and as a member of this committee I am interested in the relationship of you people who aided in rehabilitation. You have stated that this letter was accepted by the employers as the method.

Mr. O'NEIL. That was one of their methods, of course.

Mr. DOYLE. You stated that Mr. Skouras, of 20th Century-Fox, had written a letter, and he considered that a method of clearance. That was your exact language a few moments ago.

Mr. O'NEIL. No, Mr. Congressman. A letter had been written to him by an employee.

Mr. DOYLE. That is right. That is what I mean. But Mr. Skouras reported to you in this conference where there were these 15 or 20 representatives of the moving picture firms, that Mr. Skouras considered that letter as a method of clearance.

What, then, is the next step? A copy of the letter from the employee went to the local post. Then how did the employer know what the local post was doing, if anything? In other words, how did you rehabilitate? That is what I am getting at.

Mr. O'NEIL. Of course rehabilitation, Mr. Congressman, would come, I would say, not directly probably from the letter-writing campaign but from all of the things that went with it. In other words, if the protest arose at the local level, the exhibit or exhibitor became involved, and that built up into the studios. By the same token, when a local post became satisfied with the explanation and in their local appraisal felt there was no longer any occasion for them to protest, they would make their views known to the exhibitor at the local level. Of course that would be transmitted back through the entertainment industry belt to the studio people. We at our level would feel that if there was no further inquiry from the local posts they had become satisfied. If there was another inquiry, then we would try to determine whatever they desired. We tried to determine a method to obtain the answer to any questions which might arise.

Mr. DOYLE. You stated a minute ago these letters have become a very vital factor as means of rehabilitation. Those were your exact words as I wrote it down. I am not disagreeing with you at all, but I do want the information. I think the committee should have the information as to just what the procedures were in this agreed arrangement between you and the industry as to this letter on rehabilitation. You said there were less than 100 such letters.

Mr. O'NEIL. Less than 100 that came to my attention, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. Approximately how many of those 100, if you know, were rehabilitated in the sense in which you use the term? How many of those 100 got their employment again?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say practically all of these people involved got their employment. Either they were continued in employment or

they obtained employment. In other words, there was no denial of employment to them.

Mr. DOYLE. About how many of that approximately 100 had been identified as Communists for the purpose of this letter?

Mr. O'NEIL. I wouldn't be prepared to answer that without an examination of the letters, Mr. Congressman. There were some, of course.

Mr. DOYLE. The reason I ask you that is to get at the extent of rehabilitation which resulted.

Mr. O'NEIL. I wouldn't be prepared to answer that. I would like to reserve the right to obtain that for you after an examination of my files, which, incidentally, have been transferred to Indianapolis. I would have to get at those files to answer that properly.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't know whether your exhibits offered here today include a copy of this rehabilitation letter. If you have it there, I would like to see a copy of the letter which was used by the Legion for this purpose of rehabilitation.

Mr. O'NEIL. Mr. Congressman, every letter would be different, because it would have to be in answer to the specifics. This was not an agreement between the Legion and the industry as a method at all. This was a proposal, as I said, offered or suggested by Mr. Skouras as one method which the studio had employed. This was not our conception at all. This was a plan which people who had no other avenue of approach to this problem might utilize. Mr. Skouras suggested this as possibly one way to answer the problem, and he asked if the American Legion would participate and help the industry and the individuals involved. That we agreed to do.

Mr. DOYLE. I wish to say I think it is a magnificent thing you did. I am not criticizing you.

Mr. O'NEIL. I appreciate that, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. DOYLE. But it is not clear in my mind yet, just the procedures that were followed because you stated a minute ago the Legion has participated in the distribution of this letter for rehabilitation of the individuals. I wrote that down and I don't think I missed more than 1 or 2 words of your exact wording. Therefore, I assume that it was some sort of agreed content of letter. I am in error, apparently.

Mr. O'NEIL. I wouldn't say that you are in error, Mr. Congressman. I would say, though, that every letter had to take on different language, particularly because each individual would have different allegations. Therefore, the statement would have to cover that particular individual.

Mr. DOYLE. I realize that. You have made that clear to me. One more question, please. You mentioned Mr. Eric Johnston, stating you conferred with him in 1947, and that he said that he was concerned. That was your wording.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right.

Mr. DOYLE. Subsequent to 1947 did you ever confer with Mr. Eric Johnston as head of the movie industry on this point? If so, when?

Mr. O'NEIL. No. The next time that I met with him was on March 31, 1952.

Mr. DOYLE. That was at the conference when Schenck, Skouras, Schneider, O'Connor, and others were present?

Mr. O'NEIL. That is correct.

Mr. DOYLE. May I ask this question because the other witnesses yesterday and today were asked. I don't recall that you were specifically asked this. What is your idea of blacklisting? What does blacklisting consist of?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say blacklisting is reprehensible in its general terminology, of course, and certainly the American Legion and myself as an individual would not be identified with it. The American Legion, however, feels very definitely that those identified with the Communist conspiracy, the Communist apparatus, should not be employed in the entertainment industry.

Mr. DOYLE. I don't disagree with you. I wanted to get your definition because the definitions have varied.

Mr. O'NEIL. I am sure they will because the word itself connotes something reprehensible. It does to me.

Mr. DOYLE. Is the legion now functioning in this fine program?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say, Mr. Congressman, that the Legion considers the situation in Hollywood to be very, very good at the present time. I see no occasion for us to be alarmed, although we certainly continue observation of the whole situation. We certainly are ready and willing to participate, as we always have been, in helping in rehabilitation, as such is the keystone of our structure and organization. As of now I would say things are very good.

The CHAIRMAN. Any questions, Mr. Willis?

Mr. WILLIS. No questions.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I thought after the vote we had last week I probably would be in the witness chair and the American Legion would be questioning me.

I think probably the major portion of the criticism, if it can be called criticism, could probably be directed at the Firing Line. I would like to ask several questions on this because I know very little about it. I receive it and read it with considerable interest. What is the circulation figure, if you know, of the Firing Line?

Mr. O'NEIL. I don't know, Mr. Congressman. If I had to make an offhand guess, I would say that it would be somewhere in the area of 5,000.

Mr. JACKSON. On what sources of information does the Firing Line depend for its data?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say very largely on the public records, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. JACKSON. Of this and other committees?

Mr. O'NEIL. Yes; and other governmental agencies, State and Federal.

Mr. JACKSON. What would you say the prime mission of the Firing Line is? Would you say that it is for the purpose of effecting a blacklist as "blacklist" has been used in this hearing this time by some of the witnesses, or is its primary purpose to supply information to the local posts and membership of the American Legion?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say it is an information bulletin such as comparable to a newsletter, Mr. Congressman.

Mr. JACKSON. Do you have any personal knowledge of any instance where the American Legion or any representative of the American Legion has gone directly to an employer or a producer, let us say, and interposed objections to the employment of a given individual?

Mr. O'NEIL. I don't know of anything like that.

Mr. JACKSON. In other words, your interpretation of the function of Firing Line—if I am in error I want to be corrected—is that it fulfills the same role in the American Legion as the labor press does within organized labor and the Chamber of Commerce News does within the chambers of commerce?

For instance, I am blacklisted, literally. I can't get into a union hall. I am blacklisted because my name appears on a blacklist of those who ought to be defeated. In spite of all of my protestations to the contrary, I remain on the blacklist. So I think all of us in one way or another are blacklisted in the wide use of the term. But the role of the labor press is to inform labor members of positions taken, who should be supported and who should be opposed. Is that the role of Firing Line?

Mr. O'NEIL. I wouldn't say that, Mr. Congressman, definitely no. I would say that the role of the Firing Line, although we do not participate in its publication or distribution——

Mr. JACKSON. I understand that.

Mr. O'NEIL. The role of the Firing Line is to inform the key people in the American Legion—probably more Americanism officers receive it than any other group—of the situations which develop around the country in this and other related fields. In other words, its concentration is against the Communist infiltration and activity, and it becomes a newsletter in that area.

Mr. SCHERER. Will you yield for a question?

Mr. JACKSON. I will be happy to yield.

Mr. SCHERER. The Firing Line, as you have indicated, in times past has called to the attention of Legion posts certain movies in which members of the Communist conspiracy appeared?

Mr. O'NEIL. That would be correct, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. And recommended against the public or the American Legion supporting such movies.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is directly or indirectly implied, I would say yes.

Mr. SCHERER. And the Catholic Church has its Legion of Decency and it sends out a publication recommendation that the members of the church not support movies which do not comply with certain moral standards.

Mr. O'NEIL. That is right, sir.

Mr. SCHERER. Would you say that is somewhat similar?

Mr. O'NEIL. I would say that would be more similar than the reference made by Congressman Jackson.

Mr. JACKSON. I think the gentleman from Ohio has probably brought attention to a better example.

Mr. SCHERER. When you were engaged in conversations with the movie industry in Hollywood did you learn anything about any restrictions on employment of individuals in the industry who did not belong to a union?

Mr. O'NEIL. No; we never became involved in any discussion of that kind.

Mr. SCHERER. As I understand it, unless all who are employed in the industry out there belong to a certain union or unions they can't work; can they?

Mr. DOYLE. Mr. Chairman, I don't think that is germane to this question. I think it is outside the issues. The question of union membership is not here involved and I object to the question. We have here the question of communism and infiltration of communism and blacklisting.

Mr. SCHERER. It is the question of blacklisting.

The CHAIRMAN. Proceed, Mr. Scherer.

Mr. SCHERER. I just made it as an observation that from our hearings in Hollywood I understood that the movie industry would not employ a cameraman or others who did not belong to a certain union. I am not saying there is anything wrong with that. I am just saying that is a fact. I don't know why my distinguished colleague should object to that observation.

Mr. DOYLE. I stated the objection for the record.

Mr. SCHERER. We are all trying to find out what blacklisting really means. I am puzzled at this point myself.

The CHAIRMAN. Maybe I can clarify the atmosphere.

Mr. SCHERER. You go ahead, Mr. Chairman.

The CHAIRMAN. A blacklist is a general term used to describe a list of persons considered obnoxious for reasons good or bad.

Now will you please tell me whether or not there is in existence such a list?

Mr. O'NEIL. I know of no list, Mr. Chairman, that is in existence. I wouldn't know where such a list was.

The CHAIRMAN. Of course if there isn't a list, then those people who are complaining about a list are complaining because through their own fault they have found themselves to be obnoxious. Certainly it seems to me that we cannot talk about a nonexistent thing when we are thinking about a set of circumstances.

Mr. O'NEIL. I would agree, Mr. Chairman.

Mr. ARENS. One of the individuals frequently alluded to in the report is Mr. George Sokolsky. We tried to communicate with Mr. Sokolsky to invite him to appear today or some time in response to the allegations against him in the report. Mr. Sokolsky told me on the telephone that because of his heart condition he was in a state of semiseclusion but that he would be very happy to prepare a statement for submission to the record. He has done so. It arrived yesterday. I have it at this time for presentation to the committee and if it meets with the pleasure of the committee, for incorporation in the record, it will be marked "Sokolsky Exhibit No. 1."

The CHAIRMAN. It will be incorporated.

SOKOLSKY EXHIBIT NO. 1

STATEMENT TO HOUSE COMMITTEE ON UN-AMERICAN ACTIVITIES BY GEORGE E. SOKOLSKY

In reply to your inquiry by telephone, I wish first to regret that my health does not yet permit me to come to Washington. Were it possible, I should only be pleased to join you.

I have read both volumes of the Cogley Report on "Blacklisting" and while the volume dealing with motion pictures appears to me to be of superior workmanship to the volume on radio and television, both suffer from inadequate research, from either an unwillingness or an inability to get at all the facts, from a double standard of morals.

As regards the double standard of morals, I note that some persons are identified by name while others are anonymous or are disguised by initials, or are turned into composite personalities so that their identities do not disclose themselves although certain phases of their personalities are identifiable. This is not objective reporting and represents, in my opinion, that characteristic of congressional investigations which Mr. Cogley and others have described as McCarthyism; namely, an accusation without adequate proof or any at all.

Before I proceed to answer your direct question, I wish to make the point that my interest was entirely in the field of movies and never in the field of radio and television. The reason is quite simple: In the motion-picture field there was the possibility of aiding in the rehabilitation of men and women of talent, so that they might be enabled to contribute to American life. It was also possible to smash the Communist treasury which drew more heavily on Hollywood than anyone will ever be able to establish.

Also, the motion-picture industry is well organized, with comparatively few companies, headed by men of direct responsibility. Radio and television is a vast arena of networks, local stations, advertising agencies, producing companies, with participants who come and go and about whom one learns only long after the event. I therefore felt that while it was possible to do a constructive job in motion pictures, it was practically impossible to do anything constructive in radio and television.

Although Cogley mentions me often and apparently I have won some favor in his eyes, his researchers have failed to discover how I came into it at all. There were two routes: At Jim McGuinness' funeral, or at his wake, some of us were discussing the enormous sacrifices this noble American made and how it really cost him his life. On that occasion, John Ford introduced me to Ward Bond and I learned of the work that these men were doing in Hollywood in their fight against the Communists. Their story appealed to me as one of the most constructive works in the anti-Communist movement, but I was immediately certain that the solution was not in blacklists or boycotts but in rehabilitation.

This conviction was strengthened by a visit to my home of Nate Spingold, a vice president of Columbia Pictures who had formerly been a newspaperman and who ranks high in culture and intelligence. Spingold was discussing a boycott of some of the pictures produced by his company. He challenged me to answer this question:

"Suppose a man is accused of being a Communist, or of having been one, how does he ever clear himself of the charge? Where is the forum? If he goes to the FBI, they take down what he says and then it is filed and nobody is permitted to see the files. The House Committee on Un-American Activities can only hear a few cases and they are selected and the committee calls the few who are selected in its own time. Meanwhile, such a person cannot work. What do you say to that?"

No rule-of-thumb answer would do. After many telephone calls and exchanges of views, the reply to Spingold's challenge was threefold:

1. No person could clear another. It is only possible for an individual to clear himself, because only he knows what his motives were and what all his actions were.

2. The only value of an outside group could be, from experience, to help to evaluate statements made by individuals and perhaps act as a clearinghouse for data. The clearinghouse idea was tried and failed because it was impossible to set up such an organization.

Instead each person who wanted to clear himself communicated in the form of a letter to his employer, the head of the company that employed him. In the event that the person was unemployed, he communicated with the company that formerly employed him or with a prospective employer.

3. No person engaged in this activity was to accept payment for any services or even compensation for expenses. This rule was adhered to strictly.

I do not and cannot know the correct number of those rehabilitated by this process. My rough estimate runs about 300 men and women who are today working in the motion-picture industry who could not work before because of the record they had established of Communist or pseudo-Communist associations. Rather than being a blacklisting effort, this was an effort in rehabilitation.

It was unpopular on two sides: Many sincere anti-Communists believed that it was an effort in the wrong direction because it made it possible for those who had been pro-Communists to work, but it failed to do anything for ex-Communists who testified before congressional committees and the FBI. This

criticism was well founded, but those of us who worked in this program had no answer for it.

The second criticism came from the Communist group who prepared dishonest statements and wanted one of us to say that we believed every word they wrote. It was a very trying situation because while we rejected the concept of "clearing" as morally dishonest, we nevertheless had no desire to be tricked and fooled. On the whole, I would say this program was socially beneficial.

As regards your questions concerning the data running from page 89 in the radio and television report, this seems to me a melange of misinformation. I do not know who is responsible for it, but it would seem that someone was boasting, was trying to give the appearance of being a big shot.

For instance, reference is made to a public-relations counsel who obtained affidavits from me. I never signed an affidavit. Even if the word "affidavit" is put in quotation marks, it is untrue.

Reference is made to Victor Riesel, Frederick Woltman, and I acting together. This never happened, except that Victor Riesel came to my house one day with John Garfield. Just before he died, Garfield was preparing a statement in Arnold Forster's office, which he told me would show the relation of Charlie Chaplin to Communist recruitment in this country. I never saw this statement. I was told that it was taken by Benjamin and Krim after Garfield died. I do not know whether this is true or not, as I did not pursue the subject.

Forster also asked me to see Judy Holliday and a man called Block who advertised a toothpaste on radio or television. I saw Judy Holliday but our conversation led to nothing. I also saw Block but only recall that he told me he had given someone "expenses" for clearing and I would have nothing to do with him.

The letter which Cogley's report says I gave an actor was to Luther Adler. I cannot understand why his name is omitted from the account as this seemed to me a clear case of injustice and I said so. I had known Luther Adler's father and mother, among the greatest actors of their time, and I respected them. I am sure that that played some emotional part in my attitude toward this man who while he was a liberal certainly was no Communist.

In any case, there was no clearing ring, as Cogley's book seems to infer. As for Frederick Woltman, an able journalist, I am quite sure that we had no occasion to discuss these particular problems at all.

It rather amuses me that with all the money that the Fund for the Republic has expended on this research, they did not get at the true nature of the effort for rehabilitation and they permitted this so-called public-relations expert, whoever he may have been, to tell them a weird story which was wholly untrue. His motive could only have been to advertise his importance. No one ever asked me to see 10 or 12 persons interested in radio and television. I never saw others in this field than I have here indicated by name.

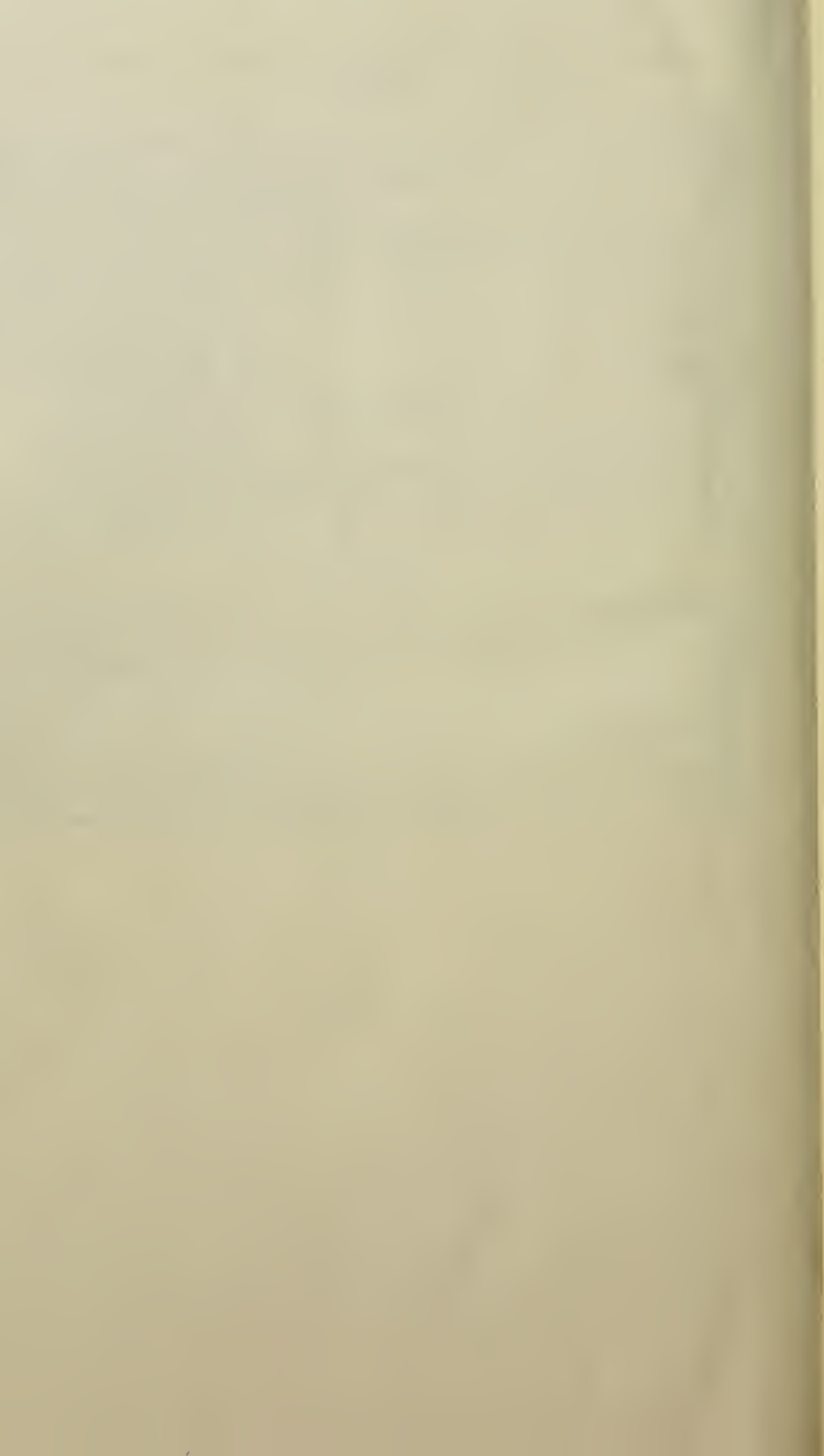
The CHAIRMAN. Is there anything more?

Mr. ARENS. Nothing more this afternoon. We have witnesses for tomorrow beginning at 10 o'clock.

The CHAIRMAN. Mr. O'Neil, you are excused with the thanks of the committee and its commendations for the attempt that you have made to deal intelligently with a very difficult subject.

The committee is in recess until 10 tomorrow morning.

(Whereupon, at 3:20 p. m., Wednesday, July 11, the committee was recessed, to reconvene at 10 a. m., Thursday, July 12, 1956.)







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a	3249	mil seit pt 6
b c d	3240	blacklisting pts 1-5
e m	3241	propaganda pts 2-3
f	3242	fund for republic
g	3243	Tillich
h i	3244	Nachhaken pt 1-2
j	3245	LA pts 11
k	3246	submission diplo
l	3247	Youngstown

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